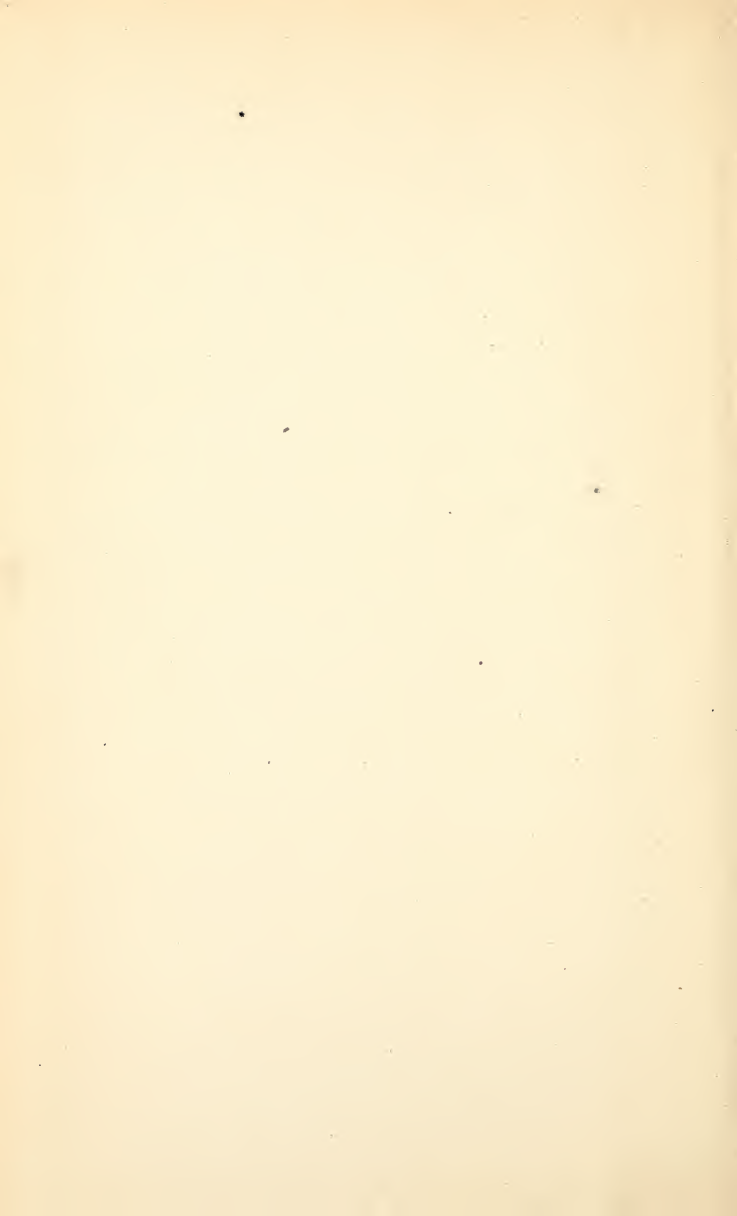
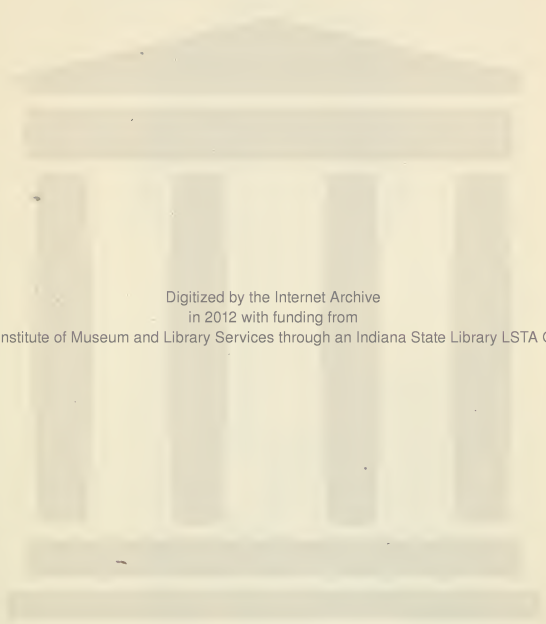


Vol. 9

M1542

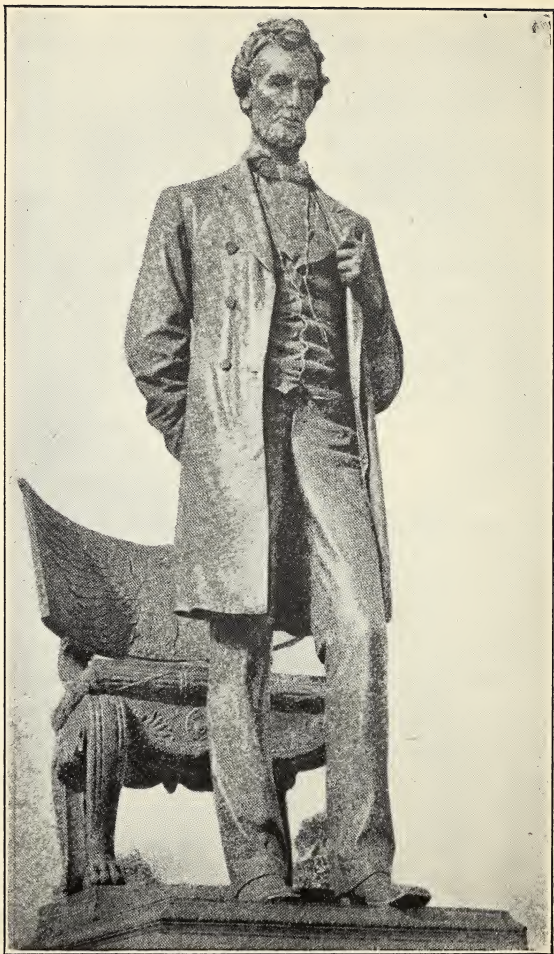
(1)





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from

The Institute of Museum and Library Services through an Indiana State Library LSTA Grant



BY AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS

BRONZE STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
In Lincoln Park, Chicago

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS

MEREDITH TO YATES

INCLUDING MESSAGES TO CONGRESS,
MILITARY ORDERS, MEMORAN-
DA, ETC., RELATING TO
INDIVIDUAL PERSONS

By

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

NEW YORK

THE CURRENT LITERATURE PUBLISHING CO.

1907

Copyright, 1907, Current Literature Publishing Company

CONTENTS

LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS:

Meredith, W. M., 1. Miles, D. S., 1. Miller, Anson, 2. Miller, James, 2. Milroy, R. H., 3. Miner, Edward G., 5. Moorhead, J. K., 5. Moreau, A. B., 6. Morgan, E. D., 6. Morgan, R. P., 7. Morris, George U., 7. Morris, I. N., 8. Morris, Martin M., 9. Morris, W. M., 12. Morrison, William R., 13. Morton, Oliver P., 13. Moulton, —, 17. Murphy, Isaac, 17.

O'Conner, Henry, 19. Ord, Edward O. C., 20. Owens, Miss Mary, 20.

Palmer, J. M., 25. Parker, Joel, 26. Parsons, G. M., and Others, 29. Paschall, N. P., 30. Paul, E. A., 31. Peck, J. M., 31. Phillips, John, 34. Pickett, George E., 35. Pickett, T. J., 36. Pierce, H. L., and Others, 37. Pierpoint, F. H., 39. Pollock, James, 40. Pomeroy, S. C., 40. Pope, John, 41. Pope, Nathaniel, 43. Porter, David D., 44. Porter, Fitz-John, 45. Prentice, George D., 46.

Quincy, Josiah, 48.

Ramsey, Alexander, 48. Ramsey, Major, 49. Ray, C. H., 49. Raymond, Henry J., 49. Reed, Alexander, 52. Reed, J. H., 53. Reynolds, J. J., 53. Rice, A. H., 55. Ripley, E. H., 55. Robertson, George, 55. Rockwell, N. J., 57. Rogers, John, 58. Rosecrans, W. S., 58. Rosette, John E., 78. Ross, John, 78. Russell, Caleb, and Fenton, Sallie A., 79.

Sands, —, 80. Sanford, Porter & Striker, 81. Saxton, Rufus, 81. Scates, Walter B., 83. Schaadt, Captain, 83. Schenck, Robert C., 84. Schenck, Robert C., and Blair, Frank P., Jr., 87. Schermerhorn, I. M., 89. Schofield, John M., 90. Schooler, —, 99. Schurz, Carl, 99. Scott, Winfield, 104. Scripps, John L., 112. Segar, Joseph, 113. Seward, William H., 114. Seymour, Horatio, 131. Sharpe, H. D., 138. Sheahan, James W., 138. Shepley, G.

- F., 139. Sheridan, Philip H., 141. Sherman, F. C., and Hayes, J. S., 142. Sherman, William T., 143. Shields, James, 147. Sickles, Daniel E., 158. Sigel, Franz, 159. Smith, Benjamin G., and Smith, Franklin W., 160. Smith, Caleb B., 161. Smith, J. Gregory, 162. Smith, Truman, 162. Somers, James W., 163. Spears, George, 165. Speed, James, 165. Speed, Joshua F., 166. Speed, Mrs. Joshua F., 195. Speed, Miss Mary, 195. Speer, William S., 198. Spring, Sydney, 199. Stafford, E., 199. Stager, Anson, 200. Stanley, Edward, 200. Stanton, Edwin M., 201. Steele, Frederick, 227. Stellwagen, Henry S., 230. Stephens, Alexander H., 231. Stephens, John A., 232. Stone, Charles P., 233. Stone, William M., 233. Stuart, John T., 234. Sumner, Charles, 243. Swann, Thomas, 244. Swett, Leonard, 245. Sympson, Alexander, 245. Talcott, Washington, 246. Tams, G. Yoke, 247. Taylor, Hawkins, 248. Thayer, J. M., 249. Thomas, George H., 249. Thomas, Lorenzo, 250. Thomas, William B., 252. Thompson, —, 253. Thornton, James T., 254. Tobey, S. B., 254. Tod, David, 255. Treat, S. H., 256. Trumbull, Lyman, 256. Usher, John P., 258. Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 259. Van Dyke, John, 259. Wadsworth, James, 260. Wakeman, Abram, 261. Walker, Robert J., 262. Wallace, Edward, 263. Wallace, Lew, 265. Warren, W. B., and Others, 266. Washburne, E. B., 267. Washburne, Israel, and Other New England Governors, 281. Washington "Chronicle," 282. Watson, Gillet F., 283. Watson, P. H., 283. Webster, Thomas, 284. Weed, Thurlow, 284. Weitzel, Godfrey, 289. Welles, Gideon, 291. Welling, J. C., 293. Whitney, Henry C., 294. Williams, Archibald, 296. Williams, John, and Taylor, N. G., 298. Wilson, Charles, Sr., 299. Winslow, John A., 300. Wood, Fernando, 301. Woodruff, T., 302. Wool, John E., 303. Worden, John L., 304. Working-men of Manchester, England, 304. Working-men of London, England, 306. Wright, C. J., and Hawkes, C. K., 307. Wright, J. A., 308. Yates, R., and Butler, Wm., 309. Unknown Addressees, 310.

LETTERS

MEREDITH, W. M.

Washington, March 9, 1849.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury.

Dear Sir: Colonel E. D. Baker and myself are the only Whig members of Congress from Illinois—I of the Thirtieth, and he of the Thirty-first. We have reason to think the Whigs of that State hold us responsible, to some extent, for the appointments which may be made of our citizens. We do not know you personally; and our efforts to see you have, so far, been unavailing. I therefore hope I am not obtrusive in saying in this way, for him and myself, that when a citizen of Illinois is to be appointed in your department, to an office either in or out of the State, we most respectfully ask to be heard.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

METHODIST CONFERENCE OF EAST BALTIMORE.

[See GERE, I. A.]

MILES, D. S.

War Department, May 24, 1862. 1.30 p. m.
Colonel Miles, Harper's Ferry, Virginia:

Could you not send scouts from Winchester who would tell whether enemy are north of

Banks, moving on Winchester? What is the latest you have?

A. Lincoln.

MILLER, ANSON.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., August 6, 1864.

Hon. Anson Miller, Rockford, Ill.:

If you will go and live in New Mexico I will appoint you a judge there. Answer.

A. Lincoln.

MILLER, JAMES.

Springfield, Ill., July 11, 1859.

Hon. James Miller, Treasurer of the State of Illinois.

Dear Sir: We suppose you are persistently urged to pay something upon the new McCallister and Stebbins bonds. As friends of yours and of the people, we advise you to pay nothing upon them under any possible circumstances. The holders of them did a great wrong, and are now persisting in it in a way which deserves severe punishment. They know the legislature has again and again refused to fully recognize the old bonds. Seizing upon an act never intended to apply to them, they besieged Governor Bissell more than a year ago to fund the old bonds; he refused. They sought a mandamus upon him from the Supreme Court; the court refused. Again they besieged the governor last winter; he sought to have them go before the legislature; they refused. Still they persisted, and dogged him in his afflicted condition till they got from him what the

agent in New York acted upon and issued the new bonds. Now they refuse to surrender them, hoping to force an acquiescence, for Governor Bissell's sake. "That cock won't fight," and they may as well so understand at once. If the news of the surrender of the new bonds does not reach here in ten days from this date, we shall do what we can to have them repudiated in toto, finally and forever. If they were less than demons they would at once relieve Governor Bissell from the painful position they have dogged him into; and if they still persist, they shall never see even the twenty-six cents to the dollar if we can prevent it.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln,
S. T. Logan,
O. M. Hatch.

MILROY, R. H.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 29, 1863.

Major-General Milroy.

My dear Sir: Your letters to Mr. Blair and to myself are handed to me by him. I have never doubted your courage and devotion to the cause. But you have just lost a division, and, *prima facie*, the fault is upon you; and while that remains unchanged, for me to put you in command again is to justly subject me to the charge of having put you there on purpose to have you lose another. If I knew facts sufficient to satisfy me that you were not in fault or error, the case would be different; but the facts I do know,

while they are not at all conclusive (and I hope they may never prove so), tend the other way.

First, I have scarcely seen anything from you at any time that did not contain imputations against your superiors, and a chafing against acting the part they had assigned you. You have constantly urged the idea that you were persecuted because you did not come from West Point, and you repeat it in these letters. This, my dear general, is, I fear, the rock on which you have split.

In the Winchester case you were under General Schenck, and he under General Halleck. I know by General Halleck's order-book that he, on the 11th of June, advised General Schenck to call you in from Winchester to Harper's Ferry; and I have been told, but do not know, that General Schenck gave you the order accordingly on the same day; and I have been told, but do not know, that on receiving it, instead of obeying it, you sent by mail a written protest against obeying it, which did not reach him until you were actually beleaguered at Winchester.

I say I do not know this. You hate West Point generally and General Halleck particularly; but I do know that it is not his fault that you were at Winchester on the 13th, 14th, and morning of the 15th—the days of your disaster. If General Schenck gave the order on the 11th, as General Halleck advised, it was an easy matter for you to have been off at least on the 12th. The case is inevitably between General Schenck and you.

Neither General Halleck nor any one else, as far as I know, required you to stay and fight 60,000 with 6000, as you insinuate.

I know General Halleck, through General Schenck, required you to get away, and that in abundant time for you to have done it.

General Schenck is not a West-Pointer, and has no prejudice against you on that score.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[Dec. 19, 1863. See GRANT, ULYSSES S.]

MINER, EDWARD G.

Springfield, February 19, 1858.

My dear Sir: Mr. G. A. Sutton is an applicant for superintendent of the addition to the Insane Asylum, and I understand it partly depends on you whether he gets it.

Mr. Sutton is my fellow townsman and friend, and I therefore wish to say for him that he is a man of sterling integrity and as a master mechanic and builder not surpassed in our city, or any I have known anywhere as far as I can judge.

I hope you will consider me as being really interested for Mr. Sutton and not as writing merely to relieve myself of importunity.

Please show this to Colonel William Ross and let him consider it as much intended for him as for yourself.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

MOORHEAD, J. K.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 18, 1863. 10.40 a. m.
To Hon. J. K. Moorhead, Pittsburg, Pa.:

If General Brooks, now in command at Pitts-

burg, finds any person or persons injuriously affecting his military operations, he is authorized to arrest him or them at once if the case is urgent. If not urgent, let him communicate the particulars to me. General Brooks is the man to now manage the matter at Pittsburg. Please show this to him.

A. Lincoln.

MOREAU, A. B.

Springfield, March 23, 1855.

Sir: Stranger though I am, personally, being a brother in the faith, I venture to write to you. Yates cannot come to your court next week. He is obliged to be at Pike court where he has a case, with a fee of five hundred dollars, two hundred dollars already paid. To neglect it would be unjust to himself, and dishonest to his client. Harris will be with you, head up and tail up, for Nebraska. You must have some one to make an anti-Nebraska speech. Palmer is the best, if you can get him; I think Joe Gillespie, if you cannot get Palmer, and somebody, anyhow, if you can get neither. But press Palmer hard. It is in his Senatorial district, I believe.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

MORGAN, E. D.

Washington, May 22, 1861.

Governor E. D. Morgan, Albany, N. Y.:

I wish to see you face to face to clear these difficulties about forwarding troops from New York.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, July 2, 1862.

Governor E. D. Morgan, Albany, New York:

It was thought safest to mark high enough. It is 300,000.

A. Lincoln.

MORGAN, R. P.

Springfield, February 13, 1856.

Dear Sir: Says Tom to John: "Here's your old rotten wheelbarrow. I've broke it, usin' on it. I wish you would mend it, case I shall want to borrow it this arter-noon."

Acting on this as a precedent, I say, "Here's your old 'chalked hat.' I wish you would take it, and send me a new one, case I shall want to use it the first of March."

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

MORRIS, GEORGE U.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Lieutenant-Commander George U. Morris, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the determined valor and heroism displayed in his defense of the United States ship of war *Cumberland*, temporarily under his command in the naval engagement at Hampton Roads on the 8th of March, 1862, with the rebel iron-clad steam-frigate *Merrimac*.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 10, 1862.

MORRIS, I. N.

Springfield, Ill., Dec. 24, 1860.

Hon. I. N. Morris, Quincy, Ill.

My dear Sir: Without supposing that you and I are any nearer together, politically than heretofore, allow me to tender you my sincere thanks for your Union resolution, expressive of views upon which we never were, and, I trust, never will be at variance.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 26, 1863.

Hon. I. N. Morris.

Dear Sir: Your note asking what you were to understand was received yesterday. Monday morning I sent the papers to the Secretary of the Interior, with an indorsement that my impression of the law was not changed, and that I desired him to take up the case and do his duty according to his view of the law. Yesterday I said the same thing to him verbally.

Now, my understanding is that the law has not assigned me, specifically, any duty in the case, but has assigned it to the Secretary of the Interior. It may be my general duty to direct him to act—which I have performed. When he shall have acted, if his action is not satisfactory, there may or may not be an appeal to me. It is a point I have not examined; but if it be shown that the law gives such appeal, I shall not hesitate to entertain it when presented.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 18, 1863.

Hon. I. N. Morris.

Sir: Please carefully put the argument in writing, with reference to authorities, in the matter intended to show that the law gives an appeal to me in the case referred to. When that is ready to be presented, I will try to give you the personal interview about Illinois matters generally.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

MORRIS, MARTIN M.

Springfield, Illinois, March 26, 1843.

Friend Morris: Your letter of the 23d was received on yesterday morning, and for which (instead of an excuse, which you thought proper to ask) I tender you my sincere thanks. It is truly gratifying to me to learn that while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, my old friends of Menard, who have known me longest and best, stick to me. It would astonish, if not amuse, the older citizens to learn that I (a stranger, friendless, uneducated, penniless boy, working on a flatboat at ten dollars per month) have been put down here as the candidate of pride, wealth and aristocratic family distinction. Yet so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest combination of church influence against me. Baker is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions got all that church. My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian churches, and some with the Episcopal churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to go

for me, because I belonged to no church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel. With all these things, Baker, of course, had nothing to do. Nor do I complain of them. As to his own church going for him, I think that was right enough, and as to the influences I have spoken of in the other, though they were very strong, it would be grossly untrue and unjust to charge that they acted upon them in a body, or were very near so. I only mean that those influences levied a tax of a considerable per cent. upon my strength throughout the religious controversy. But enough of this.

You say that in choosing a candidate for Congress you have an equal right with Sangamon, and in this you are undoubtedly correct. In agreeing to withdraw if the Whigs of Sangamon should go against me, I did not mean that they alone were worth consulting, but that if she, with her heavy delegation, should be against me, it would be impossible for me to succeed, and therefore I had as well decline. And in relation to Menard having rights, permit me fully to recognize them, and to express the opinion, that if she and Mason act circumspectly, they will in the convention be able so far to enforce their rights as to decide absolutely which one of the candidates shall be successful. Let me show the reason of this. Hardin, or some other Morgan candidate, will get Putnam, Marshall, Woodford, Tazewell and Logan—making sixteen. Then you and Mason, having three, can give the victory to either side.

You say you shall instruct your delegates for me, unless I object. I certainly shall not object.

That would be too pleasant a compliment for me to tread in the dust. And besides, if anything should happen (which, however, is not probable) by which Baker should be thrown out of the fight, I would be at liberty to accept the nomination if I could get it. I do, however, feel myself bound not to hinder him in any way from getting the nomination. I should despise myself were I to attempt it. I think, then, it would be proper for your meeting to appoint three delegates, and to instruct them to go for some one as a first choice, some one else as a second, and perhaps some one as a third; and if in those instructions I were named as the first choice, it would gratify me very much. If you wish to hold the balance of power, it is important for you to attend to and secure the vote of Mason also. You should be sure to have men appointed delegates that you know you can safely confide in. If yourself and James Short were appointed from your county, all would be safe; but whether Jim's woman affair a year ago might not be in the way of his appointment is a question. I don't know whether you know it, but I know him to be as honorable a man as there is in the world. You have my permission, and even request, to show this letter to Short; but to no one else, unless it be a very particular friend, who you know will not speak of it.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

P. S.—Will you write me again?
To Martin M. Morris, Petersburg, Illinois.

April 14, 1843.

Friend Morris: I have heard it intimated that

Baker has been attempting to get you or Miles, or both of you, to violate the instructions of the meeting that appointed you, and to go for him. I have insisted, and still insist, that this cannot be true. Surely Baker would not do the like. As well might Hardin ask me to vote for him in the convention. Again, it is said there will be an attempt to get up instructions to your county requiring you to go for Baker. This is all wrong. Upon the same rule, why might not I fly from the decision against me in Sangamon, and get up instructions to their delegates to go for me? There are at least 1200 Whigs in the county that took no part, and yet I would as soon put my head in the fire as to attempt it. Besides, if any one should get the nomination by such extraordinary means, all harmony in the district would inevitably be lost. Honest Whigs (and very nearly all of them are honest) would not quietly abide such enormities. I repeat, such an attempt on Baker's part cannot be true. Write me at Springfield how the matter is. Don't show or speak of this letter.

A. Lincoln.

MORRIS, W. M.

Springfield, March 28, 1859.

W. M. Morris, Esq.

Dear Sir: Your kind note inviting me to deliver a lecture at Galesburg is received. I regret to say I cannot do so now. I must stick to the courts awhile. I read a sort of lecture to three different audiences during the last month and this; but I did so under circumstances which made it a waste of no time whatever.

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

MORRISON, WILLIAM R.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 5, 1862.

Colonel William R. Morrison, Waterloo, Illinois :

Your letter of September 23 is this moment received. While your words of kindness are very grateful, your suspicions that I intend you injustice are very painful to me. I assure you such suspicions are groundless. I cannot even conjecture what juniors of yours you suppose I contemplate promoting over you. True, seniority has not been my rule in this connection ; but in considering military merit, the world has abundant evidence that I disregard politics.

A. Lincoln.

MORROW, R.

[See FLEMING, J. M.]

MORTON, MRS. MARY E.

[See REYNOLDS, J. J.]

MORTON, OLIVER P.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., August 15, 1861.

Governor Morton, Indiana :

Start your four regiments to St. Louis at the earliest moment possible. Get such harness as may be necessary for your rifled guns. Do not delay a single regiment, but hasten everything forward as soon as any one regiment is ready. Have your three additional regiments organized at once. We shall endeavor to send you the arms this week.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., September 29, 1861.
His Excellency, Governor O. P. Morton:

Your letter by the hand of Mr. Prunk was received yesterday. I write this letter because I wish you to believe of us (as we certainly believe of you) that we are doing the very best we can. You do not receive arms from us as fast as you need them; but it is because we have not near enough to meet all the pressing demands, and we are obliged to share around what we have, sending the larger share to the points which appear to need them most. We have great hope that our own supply will be ample before long, so that you and all others can have as many as you need. I see an article in an Indianapolis newspaper denouncing me for not answering your letter sent by special messenger two or three weeks ago. I did make what I thought the best answer to that letter. As I remember, it asked for ten heavy guns to be distributed, with some troops, at Lawrenceburg, Madison, New Albany, and Evansville; and I ordered the guns and directed you to send the troops, if you had them. As to Kentucky, you do not estimate that State as more important than I do, but I am compelled to watch all points. While I write this I am, if not in range, at least in hearing of cannon-shot from an army of enemies more than 100,000 strong. I do not expect them to capture this city; but I know they would if I were to send the men and arms from here to defend Louisville, of which there is not a single hostile armed soldier within forty miles, nor any force known to be moving upon it from any distance. It is true, the army in our front may make a half-circle around southward and move on Louisville, but

when they do we will make a half-circle around northward and meet them; and in the meantime we will get up what forces we can from other sources to also meet them.

I hope Zollicoffer has left Cumberland Gap (though I fear he has not), because, if he has, I rather infer he did it because of his dread of Camp Dick Robinson, reinforced from Cincinnati, moving on him, than because of his intention to move on Louisville. But if he does go round and reinforce Buckner, let Dick Robinson come round and reinforce Sherman, and the thing is substantially as it was when Zollicoffer left Cumberland Gap. I state this as an illustration; for, in fact, I think if the Gap is left open to us Dick Robinson should take it and hold it; while Indiana and the vicinity of Louisville in Kentucky can reinforce Sherman faster than Zollicoffer can Buckner.

You requested that Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, of the army, should be appointed a brigadier-general. I will only say that very formidable objection has been made to this from Indiana.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,

Washington, D. C., June 28, 1862.

Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Your despatch of to-day is just received. I have no recollection of either John R. Cravens or Cyrus M. Allen having been named to me for appointment under the tax law. The latter particularly has been my friend, and I am sorry to learn that he is not yours. No appointment has been or will be made by me for the purpose of stabbing you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department,
Washington, D. C., February 1, 1863.
Governor O. P. Morton, Indianapolis, Ind.:

I think it would not do for me to meet you at Harrisburg. It would be known and would be misconstrued a thousand ways. Of course if the whole truth could be told and accepted as truth, it would do no harm, but that is impossible.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, May 21, 1864.
Governor O. P. Morton:

The getting forward of hundred-day troops to sustain General Sherman's lengthening lines promises much good. Please put your best efforts into the work.

A. Lincoln.

Same to Governor Yates, Springfield, Illinois; Governor Stone, Davenport, Iowa; Governor Lewis, Madison, Wisconsin.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., October 13, 1864.
Governor Oliver P. Morton, Indianapolis, Indiana:

In my letter borne by Mr. Mitchell to General Sherman, I said that any soldiers he could spare for October need not to remain for November. I therefore cannot press the general on this point. All that the Secretary of War and General Sherman feel they can safely do, I, however, shall be glad of. Bravo for Indiana and for yourself personally!

A. Lincoln.

MOULTON, ———

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 31, 1863.

My dear Sir: There has been a good deal of complaint against you by your superior officers of the Provost-Marshall-General's Department, and your removal has been strongly urged on the ground of "persistent disobedience of orders and neglect of duty." Firmly convinced, as I am, of the patriotism of your motives, I am unwilling to do anything in your case which may seem unnecessarily harsh or at variance with the feelings of personal respect and esteem with which I have always regarded you. I consider your services in your district valuable, and should be sorry to lose them. It is unnecessary for me to state, however, that when differences of opinion arise between officers of the government, the ranking officer must be obeyed. You, of course, recognize as clearly as I do the importance of this rule. I hope you will conclude to go on in your present position under the regulations of the department. I wish you would write to me. I am very truly your friend and obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

MULLER, JAMES N.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., May 9, 1861.]

MURPHY, ISAAC.

[Telegram.]

Washington, February 6, 1864.

Governor I. Murphy:

My order to General Steele about an election

was made in ignorance of the action your convention had taken or would take. A subsequent letter directs General Steele to aid on your own plan, and not to thwart or hinder you. Show this to him.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., March 12, 1864.
Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:

I am not appointing officers for Arkansas now, and I will try to remember your request. Do your best to get out the largest vote possible, and of course as much of it as possible on the right side.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1864.
Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:

Yours of yesterday received and thanks for it. Send further returns when you receive them. Will do my best to protect people and new State government, but can act with no better intentions than have always done. Tell General Steele I have Randolph's pardon, and will send by mail if he says so.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., April 27, 1864.
Governor Murphy, Little Rock, Arkansas:

I am much gratified to learn that you got out so large a vote, so nearly all the right way, at the late election; and not less so that your State government, including the legislature, is organized and in good working order. Whatever I can I will do to protect you; meanwhile you must

do your utmost to protect yourselves. Present my greeting to all.

A. Lincoln.

MURRAY, BRONSON.

[See DIXON, JAMES.]

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.

[See CHOATE, JOSEPH H.]

NICHOLS AND CROSBY.

[See CROSBY AND NICHOLS.]

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

[See CROSBY AND NICHOLS.]

O'CONNER, HENRY.

Springfield, September 14, 1856.

Dear Sir: Yours inviting me to attend a mass meeting on the 23rd inst. is received. It would be very pleasant to strike hands with the Frémonters of Iowa, who have led the van so splendidly, in this grand charge which we hope and believe will end in a most glorious victory—all thanks, all honor to Iowa!! But Iowa is out of all danger, and it is no time for us, when the battle still rages, to pay holy-day visits to Iowa. I am sure you will excuse me for remaining in Illinois, where much hard work is still to be done.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

OHIO DEMOCRATS, COMMITTEE OF.

[See BIRCHARD, M.]

ORD, EDWARD O. C.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 19, 1865.

Major-General Ord:

You have a man in arrest for desertion passing by the name of Stanley. William Stanley, I think, but whose real name is different. He is the son of so close a friend of mine that I must not let him be executed. Please let me know what is his present and prospective condition.

A. Lincoln.

OWENS, MISS MARY.

Vandalia, December 13, 1836.

Mary: I have been sick ever since my arrival, or I should have written sooner. It is but little difference, however, as I have very little even yet to write. And more, the longer I can avoid the mortification of looking in the post-office for your letter and not finding it, the better. You see I am mad about that old letter yet. I don't like very well to risk you again. I'll try you once more, anyhow.

The new State House is not yet finished, and consequently the legislature is doing little or nothing. The governor delivered an inflammatory political message, and it is expected there will be some sparring between the parties about it as soon as the two Houses get to business. Taylor delivered up his petition for the new county to one of our members this morning. I am told he despairs of its success, on account of all the members from Morgan County opposing it. There are names enough on the petition, I think, to justify the members from our county in go-

ing for it; but if the members from Morgan oppose it, which they say they will, the chance will be bad.

Our chance to take the seat of government to Springfield is better than I expected. An internal-improvement convention was held here since we met, which recommended a loan of several millions of dollars, on the faith of the State, to construct railroads. Some of the legislature are for it, and some against it; which has the majority I cannot tell. There is great strife and struggling for the office of the United States Senator here at this time. It is probable we shall ease their pains in a few days. The opposition men have no candidate of their own, and consequently they will smile as complacently at the angry snarl of the contending Van Buren candidates and their respective friends as the Christian does at Satan's rage. You recollect that I mentioned at the outset of this letter that I had been unwell. That is the fact, though I believe I am about well now; but that, with other things I cannot account for, have conspired, and have gotten my spirits so low that I feel that I would rather be any place in the world than here. I really cannot endure the thought of staying here ten weeks. Write back as soon as you get this, and, if possible, say something that will please me, for really I have not been pleased since I left you. This letter is so dry and stupid that I am ashamed to send it, but with my present feelings I cannot do any better.

Give my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Able and family.

Your friend,

Lincoln.

Springfield, May 7, 1837.

Miss Mary S. Owens.

Friend Mary: I have commenced two letters to send you before this, both of which displeased me before I got half done, and so I tore them up. The first I thought was not serious enough, and the second was on the other extreme. I shall send this, turn out as it may.

This thing of living in Springfield is rather a dull business, after all; at least it is so to me. I am quite as lonesome here as I ever was anywhere in my life. I have been spoken to by but one woman since I have been here, and should not have been by her if she could have avoided it. I've never been to church yet, and probably shall not be soon. I stay away because I am conscious I should not know how to behave myself.

I am often thinking of what we said about your coming to live at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satisfied. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages here, which it would be your doom to see without sharing it. You would have to be poor, without the means of hiding your poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently? Whatever woman may cast her lot with mine, should any ever do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make her happy and contented; and there is nothing I can imagine that would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort. I know I should be much happier with you than the way I am, provided I saw no signs of discontent in you. What you have said to me may have been in the way of jest, or I may have misunderstood it. If so, then let it be forgotten; if otherwise,

I much wish you would think seriously before you decide. What I have said I will most positively abide by, provided you wish it. My opinion is that you had better not do it. You have not been accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than you now imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly on any subject, and if you deliberate maturely upon this before you decide, then I am willing to abide your decision.

You must write me a good long letter after you get this. You have nothing else to do, and though it might not seem interesting to you after you had written it, it would be a good deal of company to me in this "busy wilderness." Tell your sister I don't want to hear any more about selling out and moving. That gives me the "hypo" whenever I think of it.

Yours, etc.,

Lincoln.

Springfield, August 16, 1837.

Friend Mary: You will no doubt think it rather strange that I should write you a letter on the same day on which we parted, and I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you lately makes me think of you more than usual; while at our late meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You must know that I cannot see you or think of you with entire indifference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in regard to what my real feelings toward you are. If I knew you were not, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perhaps any other man would know enough without further information; but I consider it my peculiar right

to plead ignorance, and your bounden duty to allow the plea. I want in all cases to do right, and most particularly so in all cases with women. I want at this particular time, more than anything else, to do right with you ; and if I knew it would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let you alone, I would do it. And for the purpose of making the matter as plain as possible, I now say that you can now drop the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) from me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without calling forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will even go further, and say that if it will add anything to your comfort or peace of mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you should. Do not understand by this that I wish to cut your acquaintance. I mean no such thing. What I do wish is that our further acquaintance shall depend upon yourself. If such further acquaintance would contribute nothing to your happiness, I am sure it would not to mine. If you feel yourself in any degree bound to me, I am now willing to release you, provided you wish it ; while, on the other hand, I am willing and even anxious to bind you faster, if I can be convinced that it will, in any considerable degree, add to your happiness. This, indeed, is the whole question with me. Nothing would make me more miserable than to believe you miserable—nothing more happy than to know you were so.

In what I have now said, I think I cannot be misunderstood, and to make myself understood is the only object of this letter.

If it suits you best to not answer this, farewell. A long life and a merry one attend you. But if you conclude to write back, speak as

plainly as I do. There can be neither harm nor danger in saying to me anything you think, just in the manner you think it.

My respects to your sister.

Your friend,

Lincoln.

[See also BROWNING, MRS. O. H.]

PALMER, J. M.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Sept. 7, 1854.

Hon. J. M. Palmer.

Dear Sir: You know how anxious I am that this Nebraska measure shall be rebuked and condemned everywhere. Of course I hope something from your position, yet I do not expect you to do anything which may be wrong in your own judgment; nor would I have you do anything personally injurious to yourself—You are, and always have been, *honestly* and *sincerely*, a democrat; and I know how painful it must be to an honest, sincere man to be urged by his party to the support of a measure, which in his conscience he believes to be wrong—You have had a severe struggle with yourself, and you have determined *not* to swallow the *wrong*—Is it not just to yourself that you should, in a few public speeches, state your reasons, and thus justify yourself? I wish you would; and yet I say, “Don’t do it, if you think it will injure you”—You may have given your word to vote for Major Harris; and if so, of course you will stick to it—But allow me to suggest that you should avoid speaking of this, for it probably would induce some of your friends, in like manner, to

cast their votes—You understand—And now let me beg your pardon for obtruding this letter upon you, to whom I have ever been opposed in politics—Had your party omitted to make Nebraska a test of party fidelity, you probably would have been the Democratic candidate for Congress in the district—You deserved it, and I believe it would have been given you—In that case I should have been quite happy that Nebraska was to be rebuked at all events—I still should have voted for the whig candidate; but I should have made no speeches, written no letters; and you would have been elected by at least a thousand majority.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

PARKER, JOEL.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 30, 1863.

Governor Parker, Trenton, N. J.:

Your despatch of yesterday received. I really think the attitude of the enemy's army in Pennsylvania presents us the best opportunity we have had since the war began. I think you will not see the foe in New Jersey. I beg you to be assured that no one out of my position can know so well as if he were in it, the difficulties and involvements of replacing General McClellan in command, and this aside from any imputations upon him. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done and are doing to get troops forward.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 20, 1863.

His Excellency Joel Parker, Governor of New Jersey.

Dear Sir: Yours of the fifteenth has been received, and considered by the Secretary of War and myself. I was pained to be informed this morning by the Provost-Marshal-General that New Jersey is now behind twelve thousand, irrespective of the draft. I did not have time to ascertain by what rules this was made out; and I shall be very glad if it shall, by any means, prove to be incorrect. He also tells me that eight thousand will be about the quota of New Jersey on the first draft; and the Secretary of War says the first draft in that State would not be made for some time in any event. As every man obtained otherwise lessens the draft so much, and this may supersede it altogether, I hope you will push forward your volunteer regiments as fast as possible.

It is a very delicate matter to postpone the draft in one State, because of the argument it furnishes others to have postponement also. If we could have a reason in one case which would be good if presented in all cases, we could act upon it.

I will thank you, therefore, to inform me, if you can, by what day, at the earliest, you can promise to have ready to be mustered into the United States service the eight thousand men.

If you can make a reliable promise (I mean one which you can rely on yourself) of this sort, it will be of great value, if the day is not too remote.

I beg you to be assured, I wish to avoid the difficulties you dread as much as yourself.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 25, 1863.

His Excellency Governor Joel Parker.

Sir: Yours of the 21st is received, and I have taken time and considered and discussed the subject with the Secretary of War and Provost-Marshal-General, in order, if possible, to make you a more favorable answer than I finally find myself able to do.

It is a vital point with us to not have a special stipulation with the governor of any one State, because it would breed trouble in many, if not all, other States; and my idea was when I wrote you, as it still is, to get a point of time to which we could wait, on the reason that we were not ready ourselves to proceed, and which might enable you to raise the quota of your State, in whole, or in large part, without the draft. The points of time you fix are much farther off than I had hoped. We might have got along in the way I have indicated for twenty, or possibly thirty, days. As it stands, the best I can say is that every volunteer you will present us within thirty days from this date, fit and ready to be mustered into the United States service, on the usual terms, shall be *pro tanto* an abatement of your quota of the draft. That quota I can now state at eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-three (8783). No draft from New Jersey, other than for the above quota, will be made before an additional draft, com-

mon to [*all*] the States, shall be required; and I may add that if we get well through with this draft, I entertain a strong hope that any further one may never be needed. This expression of hope, however, must not be construed into a promise.

As to conducting the draft by townships, I find it would require such a waste of labor already done, and such an additional amount of it, and such a loss of time, as to make it, I fear, inadmissible.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. Since writing the above, getting additional information, I am enabled to say that the draft may be made in subdistricts, as the enrolment has been made, or is in process of making. This will amount practically to drafting by townships, as the enrolment subdistricts are generally about the extent of townships.

A. L.

PARSONS, G. M., AND OTHERS.

Springfield, Illinois, December 19, 1859.
Messrs. G. M. Parsons and Others, Central Executive Committee, etc.

Gentlemen: Your letter of the 7th instant, accompanied by a similar one from the governor-elect, the Republican State officers, and the Republican members of the State Board of Equalization of Ohio, both requesting of me, for publication in permanent form, copies of the political debates between Senator Douglas and myself last year, has been received. With my grateful acknowledgments to both you and them for the

very flattering terms in which the request is communicated, I transmit you the copies. The copies I send you are as reported and printed by the respective friends of Senator Douglas and myself, at the time—that is, his by his friends, and mine by mine. It would be an unwarrantable liberty for us to change a word or a letter in his, and the changes I have made in mine, you perceive, are verbal only, and very few in number. I wish the reprint to be precisely as the copies I send, without any comment whatever.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

PASCHALL, N. P.

[Private and Confidential.]

Springfield, Illinois, November 16, 1860.
N. P. Paschall, Esq.

My dear Sir: Mr. Ridgely showed me a letter of yours in which you manifest some anxiety that I should make some public declaration with a view to favorably affect the business of the country. I said to Mr. Ridgely I would write you to-day, which I now do.

I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print, and accessible to the public. Please pardon me for suggesting that if the papers like yours, which heretofore have persistently garbled and misrepresented what I have said, will now fully and fairly place it before their readers, there can be no further misunderstanding. I beg you to believe me sincere when I declare I do not say this in a spirit of complaint or resentment; but that I urge it as the true cure for any real uneasiness in the country that my

course may be other than conservative. The Republican newspapers now and for some time past are and have been republishing copious extracts from my many published speeches, which would at once reach the whole public if your class of papers would also publish them. I am not at liberty to shift my ground—that is out of the question. If I thought a repetition would do any good, I would make it. But in my judgment it would do positive harm. The secessionists *per se*, believing they had alarmed me, would clamor all the louder.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

PAUL, E. A.

[*Indorsement.*]

E. A. Paul:

The [N. Y.] "Times," I believe, is always true to the Union, and therefore should be treated at least as well as any.

A. Lincoln.

May 24, 1864.

PECK, J. M.

Washington, May 21, 1848.

Rev. J. M. Peck.

Dear Sir: On last evening I received a copy of the Belleville "Advocate," with the appearance of having been sent by a private hand; and inasmuch as it contained your oration on the occasion of the celebrating of the battle of Buena Vista, and is post-marked at Rock Spring, I cannot doubt that it is to you I am indebted for this courtesy.

I own that finding in the oration a labored justification of the administration on the origin of the Mexican war disappointed me, because it is the first effort of the kind I have known made by one appearing to me to be intelligent, right-minded, and impartial. It is this disappointment that prompts me to address you briefly on the subject. I do not propose any extended review. I do not quarrel with facts—brief exhibition of facts. I presume it is correct so far as it goes; but it is so brief as to exclude some facts quite as material in my judgment to a just conclusion as any it includes. For instance, you say, “Paredes came into power the last of December, 1845, and from that moment all hopes of avoiding war by negotiation vanished.” A little further on, referring to this and other preceding statements, you say, “All this transpired three months before General Taylor marched across the desert of Nueces.” These two statements are substantially correct; and you evidently intend to have it inferred that General Taylor was sent across the desert in consequence of the destruction of all hopes of peace, in the overthrow of Herara by Paredes. Is not that the inference you intend? If so, the material fact you have excluded is that General Taylor was ordered to cross the desert on the 13th of January, 1846, and before the news of Herara’s fall reached Washington—before the administration which gave the order had any knowledge that Herara had fallen. Does not this fact cut up your inference by the roots! Must you not find some other excuse for that order, or give up the case? All that part of the three months you speak of which transpired

after the 13th of January, was expended in the orders going from Washington to General Taylor, in his preparations for the march, and in the actual march across the desert, and not in the President's waiting to hear the knell of peace in the fall of Herara, or for any other object. All this is to be found in the very documents you seem to have used.

One other thing. Although you say at one point "I shall briefly exhibit facts, and leave each person to perceive the just application of the principles already laid down to the case in hand," you very soon get to making applications yourself,—in one instance as follows: "In view of all the facts, the conviction to my mind is irresistible that the Government of the United States committed no aggression on Mexico." Not in view of all the facts. There are facts which you have kept out of view. It is a fact that the United States army in marching to the Rio Grande marched into a peaceful Mexican settlement, and frightened the inhabitants away from their homes and their growing crops. It is a fact that Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, was built by that army within a Mexican cotton-field, on which at the time the army reached it a young cotton crop was growing, and which crop was wholly destroyed and the field itself greatly and permanently injured by ditches, embankments, and the like. It is a fact that when the Mexicans captured Captain Thornton and his command, they found and captured them within another Mexican field.

Now I wish to bring these facts to your notice, and to ascertain what is the result of your reflections upon them. If you deny that they

are facts, I think I can furnish proof which shall convince you that you are mistaken. If you admit that they are facts, then I shall be obliged for a reference to any law of language, law of States, law of nations, law of morals, law of religions, any law, human or divine, in which an authority can be found for saying those facts constitute "no aggression."

Possibly you consider those acts too small for notice. Would you venture to so consider them had they been committed by any nation on earth against the humblest of our people? I know you would not. Then I ask, is the precept "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" obsolete? of no force? of no application?

I shall be pleased if you can find leisure to write me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

PHELPS, JOHN S.

[See CAMERON, SIMON, Aug. 7, 1861.]

PHELPS, J. W.

[See JOHNSON, REVERDY, July 26, 1862.]

PHILLIPS, JOHN.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 21, 1864.

Deacon John Phillips.

My dear Sir: I have heard of the incident at the polls in your town, in which you acted so honorable a part, and I take the liberty of writing to you to express my personal gratitude for

the compliment paid me by the suffrage of a citizen so venerable.

The example of such devotion to civic duties in one whose days have already been extended an average lifetime beyond the Psalmist's limit, cannot but be valuable and fruitful. It is not for myself only, but for the country which you have in your sphere served so long and so well, that I thank you.

Your friend and servant,
Abraham Lincoln.

PICKENS, FRANCIS W.

[See CHEW, R. S.]

PICKETT, GEORGE E.

[*Extracts from "Pickett and His Men."*]

February 22, 1842.

To George E. Pickett.

I never encourage deceit, and falsehood, especially if you have got a bad memory, is the *worst* enemy a fellow can have. The fact is truth is your truest friend, no matter what the circumstances are. Notwithstanding this copy-book preamble, my boy, I am inclined to suggest a *little prudence* on your part. You see I have a congenital aversion to failure, and the sudden announcement to your Uncle Andrew of the success of your "lamp-rubbing" might possibly prevent your passing the severe *physical* examination to which you will be subjected in order to enter the Military Academy. You see, I should like to have a perfect soldier credited to dear old

Illinois—no broken bones, scalp wounds, etc. So I think perhaps it might be wise to hand this letter from me, in to your good uncle through his room-window *after* he has had a *comfortable dinner*, and watch its effect from the top of the pigeon-house.

.

I have just told the folks here in Springfield on this 111th anniversary of the birth of him whose name, mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in the cause of moral reformation, we mention in solemn awe, in naked, deathless splendor, that the one victory we can ever call complete will be that one which proclaims that there is not one slave or one drunkard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory.

.

Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim that "one drop of honey catches more flies than a half-gallon of gall." Load your musket with this maxim, and smoke it in your pipe.

PICKETT, T. J.

Springfield, April 16, 1859.

T. J. Pickett, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th is just received. My engagements are such that I cannot at any very early day visit Rock Island to deliver a lecture, or for any other object. As to the other matter you kindly mention, I must in candor say I do not think myself fit for the presidency. I certainly am flattered and gratified that some partial friends think of me in that

connection; but I really think it best for our cause that no concerted effort, such as you suggest, should be made. Let this be considered confidential.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

PIERCE, H. L., AND OTHERS.

Springfield, Ill., April 6, 1859.

Gentlemen: Your kind note inviting me to attend a festival in Boston, on the 28th instant, in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, was duly received. My engagements are such that I cannot attend.

Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country, that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the headquarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson should now be celebrating his birthday in their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name everywhere.

Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior, and assuming that the so-called Democracy of to-day are the Jefferson, and their opponents the anti-Jefferson party, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided.

The Democracy of to-day hold the liberty of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another man's right of property; Republicans, on the contrary, are for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict the man before the dollar.

I remember being once much amused at seeing two partially intoxicated men engaged in a fight with their great-coats on, which fight, after a long and rather harmless contest, ended in each having fought himself out of his own coat and into that of the other. If the two leading parties of this day are really identical with the two in the days of Jefferson and Adams, they have performed the same feat as the two drunken men.

But, soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. One would state with great confidence that he could convince any sane child that the simpler propositions of Euclid are true; but nevertheless he would fail, utterly, with one who should deny the definitions and axioms. The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded, with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them "glittering generalities." Another bluntly calls them "self-evident lies." And others insidiously argue that they apply to "superior races." These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers

of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Messrs. H. L. Pierce and others.

PIERPOINT, F. H.

War Department,

Washington, D. C., September 21, 1863.

Governor Pierpoint, Alexandria, Va.:

I would be glad to have your opinion whether it would be good policy to refund the money collected from the people of East Virginia, as indemnity for the light-house depredation. I believe you once gave me your opinion on the point, but I am not entirely sure. Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

Washington City, D. C., October 16, 1862.

Governor Pierpoint, Wheeling, Va.:

Your despatch of to-day received. I am very

sorry to have offended you. I appointed the collector as I thought, on your written recommendation, and the assessor also, with your testimony of worthiness, although I know you preferred a different man. I will examine to-morrow whether I am mistaken in this.

A. Lincoln.

[Aug. 8, 1863. See FOSTER, J. G.]

PILLOW, FORT, MASSACRE.

[See CABINET, THE, May 3, 1864.]

POLLOCK, JAMES.

Washington, Aug. 15, 1861.

Hon. James Pollock.

My dear Sir: You must make a job for the bearer of this—make a job of it with the collector and have it done. You *can* do it for me and you *must*.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

POMEROY, S. C.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 12, 1864.

Hon. Senator Pomeroy.

Sir: I did not doubt yesterday that you desired to see me about the appointment of assessor in Kansas. I wish you and Lane would make a sincere effort to get out of the mood you are in. It does neither of you any good. It gives you the means of tormenting my life out of me, and nothing else.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

POPE, JOHN.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 10, 1862.

Major-General Pope, St. Paul, Minnesota:

Your despatch giving the names of 300 Indians condemned to death is received. Please forward as soon as possible the full and complete record of their convictions; and if the record does not fully indicate the more guilty and influential of the culprits, please have a careful statement made on these points and forwarded to me. Send all by mail.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, Washington, April 11, 1863.
Major-General Pope, Milwaukee, Wis.:

The President directs that under no circumstances will our troops cross the boundary line into British territory without his authority.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 12, 1865.

Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:

I understand that provost-marshals in different parts of Missouri are assuming to decide that the conditions of bonds are forfeited, and therefore are seizing and selling property to pay damages. This, if true, is both outrageous and ridiculous. Do not allow it. The courts, and not provost-marshals, are to decide such questions unless when military necessity makes an exception.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, February 14, 1865.

Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:

Yours of yesterday about provost-marshal system received. As part of the same subject, let me say I am now pressed in regard to a pending assessment in St. Louis County. Please examine and satisfy yourself whether this assessment should proceed or be abandoned; and if you decide that it is to proceed, please examine as to the propriety of its application to a gentleman by the name of Charles McLaran.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, February 15, 1865.

Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please ascertain whether General Fisk's administration is as good as it might be, and answer me.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 7, 1865.

Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:

Please state briefly, by telegraph, what you concluded about the assessments in St. Louis County. Early in the war one Samuel B. Churchill was sent from St. Louis to Louisville, where I have quite satisfactory evidence that he has not misbehaved. Still I am told his property at St. Louis is subjected to the assessment,

which I think it ought not to be. Still I wish to know what you think.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 19, 1865.

Major-General Pope, St. Louis, Missouri:

Understanding that the plan of action for Missouri contained in your letter to the governor of that State, and your other letter to me, is concurred in by the governor, it is approved by me, and you will be sustained in proceeding upon it.

A. Lincoln.

[See also YATES, B.]

POPE, NATHANIEL.

Springfield, June 8, 1849.

Hon. N. Pope.

Dear Sir: I do not know that it would, but I can well enough conceive it might, embarrass you to now give a letter recommending me for the General Land Office. Could you not, however, without embarrassment or any impropriety, so far vindicate the truth of history as to briefly state to me, in a letter, what you did say to me last spring on my arrival here from Washington, in relation to my becoming an applicant for that office? Having at last concluded to be an applicant, I have thought it is perhaps due me to be enabled to show the influences which brought me to the conclusion, and of which influences the wishes and opinions you expressed were not the least.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

PORTER, DAVID D.

[*Instructions.*]

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant D. D. Porter, United States Navy.

Sir: You will proceed to New York, and with the least possible delay, assuming command of any naval steamer available, proceed to Pensacola Harbor, and at any cost or risk prevent any expedition from the mainland reaching Fort Pickens or Santa Rosa Island.

You will exhibit this order to any naval officer at Pensacola, if you deem it necessary, after you have established yourself within the harbor, and will request coöperation by the entrance of at least one other steamer.

This order, its object, and your destination will be communicated to no person whatever until you reach the harbor of Pensacola.

Abraham Lincoln.

Recommended, William H. Seward.

[*Order.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant D. D. Porter will take command of the steamer *Powhatan*, or any other United States steamer ready for sea which he may deem most fit for the service to which he has been assigned by confidential instructions of this date.

All officers are commanded to afford him all such facilities as he may deem necessary for getting to sea as soon as possible.

He will select the officers to accompany him.

Abraham Lincoln.

Recommended, William H. Seward.

[May 11, 1861. See WELLES, GIDEON.]

[Message to Congress.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Commander David D. Porter, United States Navy, acting rear-admiral commanding the Mississippi squadron, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the bravery and skill displayed in the attack on the post of Arkansas, which surrendered to the combined military and naval forces on the 10th instant.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, January 28, 1863.

[See also LARDNER, JOHN L.]

PORTER, FITZ-JOHN.

[Nov. 5, 1862. See McCLELLAN, GEORGE B.]

[Instruction to the Judge-Advocate-General.]

War Department,

Washington City, January 12, 1863.

The Judge-Advocate-General is instructed to revise the proceedings of the court-martial in the case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter, and to report fully upon any legal questions that may have arisen in them, and upon the bearing of the testimony in reference to the charges and specifications exhibited against the accused, and upon which he was tried.

Abraham Lincoln.

[Indorsement on the Proceedings and Sentence of the Fitz-John Porter Court-Martial.]

Headquarters of the Army,

Washington, January 13, 1863.

In compliance with the Sixty-fifth Article of War,

these whole proceedings are transmitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President of the United States.

H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

January 21, 1863.

The foregoing proceedings, findings, and sentence in the foregoing case of Major-General Fitz-John Porter are approved and confirmed, and it is ordered that the said Fitz-John Porter be, and he hereby is, cashiered and dismissed from the service of the United States as a major-general of volunteers, and as colonel and brevet brigadier-general in the regular service of the United States, and forever disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit under the Government of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.

PORTER, HOWARD.

[See SCOTT, WINFIELD, March 1, 1865.]

PRENTICE, GEORGE D.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 29, 1860.

George D. Prentice, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 26th is just received. Your suggestion that I in a certain event shall write a letter setting forth my conservative views and intentions is certainly a very worthy one. But would it do any good? If I were to labor a month I could not express my conservative views and intentions more clearly and strongly than they are expressed in our plat-

form and in my many speeches already in print and before the public. And yet even you, who do occasionally speak of me in terms of personal kindness, give no prominence to these oft-repeated expressions of conservative views and intentions, but busy yourself with appeals to all conservative men to vote for Douglas,—to vote any way which can possibly defeat me,—thus impressing your readers that you think I am the very worst man living. If what I have already said has failed to convince you, no repetition of it would convince you. The writing of your letter, now before me, gives assurance that you would publish such a letter from me as you suggest; but, till now, what reason had I to suppose the Louisville “*Journal*,” even, would publish a repetition of that which is already at its command, and which it does not press upon the public attention?

And now, my friend,—for such I esteem you personally,—do not misunderstand me. I have not decided that I will not do substantially what you suggest. I will not forbear from doing so merely on punctilio and pluck. If I do finally abstain, it will be because of apprehension that it would do harm. For the good men of the South—and I regard the majority of them as such—I have no objection to repeat seventy and seven times. But I have bad men to deal with, both North and South; men who are eager for something new upon which to base new misrepresentations; men who would like to frighten me, or at least to fix upon me the character of timidity and cowardice. They would seize upon almost any letter I could write as being an “awful coming down.” I intend keeping my eye

upon these gentlemen, and to not unnecessarily put any weapons in their hands.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

[*The following indorsement appears on the back:*]

[*Confidential.*]

The within letter was written on the day of its date, and on reflection withheld till now. It expresses the views I still entertain.

A. Lincoln.

PRICE, MRS. WINIFRED E.

[See DODGE, G. M., Jan. 24, 1865.]

QUINCY, JOSIAH.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 12, 1863.

Dear and honored Sir: Allow me to express the personal gratification I feel at the receipt of your very kind letter of the 7th of September, and to thank you most cordially for its wise and earnest words of counsel.

Believe me, my dear sir, to be very respectfully and sincerely your friend and servant,

A. Lincoln.

RAMSEY, ALEXANDER.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion, August 27, 1862.
Governor Ramsey, St. Paul, Minnesota:

Yours received. Attend to the Indians. If the draft cannot proceed, of course it will not

proceed. Necessity knows no law. The government cannot extend the time.

A. Lincoln.

RAMSEY, MAJOR.

Executive Mansion, October 17, 1861.

My dear Sir: The lady bearer of this says she has two sons who want to work. Wanting to work is so rare a want that it should be encouraged.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

RAY, C. H.

Springfield, November 20, 1858.

My dear Sir: I wish to preserve a set of the last debates (if they may be called so), between Douglas and myself. . . . Please [*send*] me two copies of each number of your paper containing the whole. I wish to lay one away, and to put the other in a scrap-book. . . .

I believe, according to a letter of yours to Hatch, you are "feeling like hell yet." Quit that. You will soon feel better. Another "blow up" is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slave power; but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

RAYMOND, HENRY J.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 28, 1860.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 14th was received

in due course. I have delayed so long to answer it, because my reasons for not coming before the public in any form just now had substantially appeared in your paper (the "Times"), and hence I feared they were not deemed sufficient by you, else you would not have written me as you did. I now think we have a demonstration in favor of my view. On the 20th instant Senator Trumbull made a short speech, which I suppose you have both seen and approved. Has a single newspaper, heretofore against us, urged that speech upon its readers with a purpose to quiet public anxiety? Not one, so far as I know. On the contrary, the Boston "Courier" and its class hold me responsible for that speech, and endeavor to inflame the North with the belief that it foreshadows an abandonment of Republican ground by the incoming administration; while the Washington "Constitution" and its class hold the same speech up to the South as an open declaration of war against them. This is just as I expected, and just what would happen with any declaration I could make. These political fiends are not half sick enough yet. Party malice, and not public good, possesses them entirely. "They seek a sign, and no sign shall be given them." At least such is my present feeling and purpose.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 9, 1862.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: I am grateful to the New York

journals, and not less so to the "Times" than to others, for the kind notices of the late special message to Congress.

Your paper, however, intimates that the proposition, though well intentioned, must fail on the score of expense. I do hope you will reconsider this. Have you noticed the facts that less than one half day's cost of this war would pay for all the slaves in Delaware at \$400 per head—that eighty-seven days' cost of this war would pay for all in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Missouri at the same price? Were those States to take the step, do you doubt that it would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, and thus be an actual saving of expense?

Please look at these things and consider whether there should not be another article in the "Times."

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 15, 1864.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond.

My dear Sir: I have proposed to Mr. Greeley that the Niagara correspondence be published, suppressing only the parts of his letters over which the red pencil is drawn in the copy which I herewith send. He declines giving his consent to the publication of his letters unless these parts be published with the rest. I have concluded that it is better for me to submit for the time to the consequences of the false position in which I consider he has placed me than to subject the country to the consequences of publishing their

discouraging and injurious parts. I send you this and the accompanying copy, not for publication, but merely to explain to you, and that you may preserve them until the proper time shall come.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

REBECCA LETTER.

[See SHIELDS, JAMES, Aug. 27, 1842.]

REED, ALEXANDER.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 22, 1863.

Rev. Alexander Reed.

My dear Sir: Your note, by which you, as general superintendent of the United States Christian Commission, invite me to preside at a meeting to be held this day at the hall of the House of Representatives in this city, is received.

While, for reasons which I deem sufficient, I must decline to preside, I cannot withhold my approval of the meeting and its worthy objects. Whatever shall be sincerely, and in God's name, devised for the good of the soldier and seaman in their hard spheres of duty, can scarcely fail to be blest. And whatever shall tend to turn our thoughts from the unreasoning and uncharitable passions, prejudices, and jealousies incident to a great national trouble such as ours, and to fix them upon the vast and long-enduring consequences, for weal or for woe, which are to result from the struggle, and especially to strengthen our reliance on the Supreme Being for the final triumph of the right, cannot but be well for us all.

The birthday of Washington and the Christian Sabbath coinciding this year, and suggesting together the highest interests of this life and of that to come, is most propitious for the meeting proposed.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

REED, J. H.

Springfield, Illinois, October 1, 1860.

J. H. Reed, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of September 21st was received some time ago, but I could not till now find time to answer it. I never was in McDonough County till 1858. I never said anything derogatory of Mr. Jefferson in McDonough County or elsewhere. About three weeks ago, for the first time in my life did I ever see or hear the language attributed to me as having been used toward Mr. Jefferson; and then it was sent to me, as you now send, in order that I might say whether it came from me. I never used any such language at any time. You may rely on the truth of this, although it is my wish that you do not publish it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860.

[See page 80, volume five, present edition.]

REYNOLDS, J. J.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 20, 1864.

Major-General Reynolds:

It would appear by the accompanying papers

that Mrs. Mary E. Morton is the owner, independently of her husband, of a certain building, premises and furniture, which she, with her children, has been occupying and using peaceably during the war until recently, when the Provost-Marshall has, in the name of the United States Government, seized the whole of said property, and ejected her from it. It also appears by her statement to me that her husband went off in the rebellion at the beginning, wherein he still remains.

It would seem that this seizure has not been made for any military object, as for a place of storage, a hospital, or the like, because this would not have required the seizure of the furniture, and especially not the return of furniture previously taken away.

The seizure must have been on some claim of confiscation, a matter of which the courts, and not the provost-marshals or other military officers, are to judge. In this very case would probably be the questions, "Is either the husband or wife a traitor?" "Does the property belong to the husband or to the wife?" "Is the property of the wife confiscable for the treason of the husband?" and other similar questions, all of which it is ridiculous for a provost-marshal to assume to decide.

The true rule for the military is to seize such property as is needed for military uses and reasons, and let the rest alone. Cotton and other staple articles of commerce are seizable for military reasons. Dwelling-houses and furniture are seldom so. If Mrs. Morton is playing traitor to the extent of practical injury, seize her, but

leave her house to the courts. Please revise and adjust this case upon these principles.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

RICE, A. H.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 8, 1864.

Hon. A. H. Rice, Boston, Massachusetts:

Yours received. I have no other notice that the ox is mine: If it be really so, I present it to the Sailors' Fair as a contribution.

A. Lincoln.

RIPLEY, E. H.

This introduces to Gen. Ripley the Hon. Rob't Dale Owen, of Indiana, an intelligent, distinguished and patriotic gentleman, who wishes to talk briefly about arms.

A. Lincoln.

Jan. 22, 1861.

ROBERTSON, GEORGE.

Springfield, Illinois, August 15, 1855.

Hon. George Robertson, Lexington, Kentucky.

My dear Sir: The volume you left for me has been received. I am really grateful for the honor of your kind remembrance, as well as for the book. The partial reading I have already given it has afforded me much of both pleasure and instruction. It was new to me that the exact question which led to the Missouri Compromise had arisen before it arose in regard to Missouri, and that you had taken so prominent a part in it. Your short but able and patriotic

speech upon that occasion has not been improved upon since by those holding the same views, and, with all the lights you then had, the views you took appear to me as very reasonable.

You are not a friend to slavery in the abstract. In that speech you spoke of "the peaceful extinction of slavery," and used other expressions indicating your belief that the thing was at some time to have an end. Since then we have had thirty-six years of experience; and this experience has demonstrated, I think, that there is no peaceful extinction of slavery in prospect for us. The signal failure of Henry Clay and other good and great men, in 1849, to effect anything in favor of gradual emancipation in Kentucky, together with a thousand other signs, extinguished that hope utterly. On the question of liberty as a principle, we are not what we have been. When we were the political slaves of King George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth, but now when we have grown fat, and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie." The Fourth of July has not quite dwindled away; it is still a great day—for burning fire-crackers!!!

That spirit which desired the peaceful extinction of slavery has itself become extinct with the occasion and the men of the Revolution. Under the impulse of that occasion, nearly half the States adopted systems of emancipation at once, and it is a significant fact that not a single State has done the like since. So far as peaceful voluntary emancipation is concerned, the condition of the negro slave in America, scarcely

less terrible to the contemplation of a free mind, is now as fixed and hopeless of change for the better, as that of the lost souls of the finally impenitent. The Autocrat of all the Russias will resign his crown and proclaim his subjects free republicans sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves.

Our political problem now is, "Can we as a nation continue together permanently—forever—half slave and half free?" The problem is too mighty for me—may God, in his mercy, superintend the solution. Your much obliged friend and humble servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 26, 1862.

Hon. George Robertson.

My dear Sir: A few days since I had a despatch from you which I did not answer. If I were to be wounded personally, I think I would not shun it. But it is the life of the nation. I now understand the trouble is with Colonel Utley: that he has five slaves in his camp, four of whom belong to rebels, and one belonging to you. If this be true, convey yours to Colonel Utley, so that he can make him free, and I will pay you any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

ROCKWELL, N. J.

Springfield, January 21, 1846.

N. J. Rockwell.

Dear Sir: You perhaps know that General Hardin and I have a contest for the Whig nomination for Congress for this district. He has

had a turn and my argument is "Turn about is fair play." I shall be pleased if this strikes you as a sufficient argument.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ROGERS, JOHN.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John Rogers, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the engagement with the rebel armed iron-clad steamer *Fingal*, alias *Atlanta*, whilst in command of the United States iron-clad steamer *Weehawken*, which led to her capture on the 17th of June, 1863, and also for the zeal, bravery, and general good conduct shown by this officer on many occasions.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 8, 1863.

ROOSEVELT, R. B.

[See ASTOR, J. J.]

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE.

[See SCOTT, WINFIELD, Mar. 1, 1865.]

ROSECRANS, W. S.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 5, 1863.

Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, Murfreesborough, Tennessee:

Your despatch announcing retreat of enemy

has just reached here. God bless you and all with you! Please tender to all, and accept for yourself, the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 12, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough,
Tennessee:

Your despatch about "river patrolling" received. I have called the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of War, and General-in-Chief together, and submitted it to them, who promise to do their very best in the case. I cannot take it into my own hands without producing inextricable confusion.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 17, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: In no other way does the enemy give us so much trouble at so little expense to himself as by the raids of rapidly moving small bodies of troops, largely if not wholly mounted, harassing and discouraging loyal residents, supplying themselves with provisions, clothing, horses, and the like, surprising and capturing small detachments of our forces, and breaking our communications. And this will increase just in proportion as his larger armies shall weaken and wane. Nor can these raids be successfully met by even larger forces of our own of the same kind acting merely on the defensive.

I think we should organize proper forces and make counter raids. We should not capture so much of supplies from them as they have done from us, but it would trouble them more to repair railroads and bridges than it does us. What think you of trying to get up such a corps in your army? Could you do it without any or many additional troops (which we have not to give you), provided we furnish horses, suitable arms, and other appointments? Please consider this not as an order, but as a suggestion.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

[Indorsement.]

While I wish the required arms to be furnished to General Rosecrans, I have made no promise on the subject except what you can find in the within copy of letter.

A. Lincoln.

March 27, 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 17, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: I have just received your telegram saying that the "Secretary of War telegraphed after the battle of Stone River: 'Anything you and your command want you can have,'" and then specifying several things you have requested and have not received.

The promise of the Secretary, as you state it, is certainly pretty broad; nevertheless it accords with the feeling of the whole government here toward you. I know not a single enemy of yours here. Still the promise must have a reasonable

construction. We know you will not purposely make an unreasonable request, nor persist in one after it shall appear to be such. Now, as to the matter of a paymaster, you desired one to be permanently attached to your army, and, as I understand, desired that Major Larned should be the man. This was denied you; and you seem to think it was denied partly to disoblige you and partly to disoblige Major Larned—the latter, as you suspect, at the instance of Paymaster-General Andrews. On the contrary, the Secretary of War assures me the request was refused on no personal ground whatever, but because to grant it would derange, and substantially break up, the whole pay-system as now organized, and so organized on very full consideration and sound reason, as believed. There is powerful temptation in money; and it was and is believed that nothing can prevent the paymasters speculating upon the soldiers but a system by which each is to pay certain regiments so soon after he has notice that he is to pay those particular regiments that he has no time or opportunity to lay plans for speculating upon them. This precaution is all lost if paymasters respectively are to serve permanently with the same regiments, and pay them over and over during the war. No special application of this has been intended to be made to Major Larned or to your army. And as to General Andrews, I have in another connection felt a little aggrieved at what seemed to me his implicit following the advice and suggestions of Major Larned—so ready are we all to cry out and ascribe motives when our own toes are pinched.

Now as to your request that your commission

should date from December, 1861. Of course you expected to gain something by this; but you should remember that precisely so much as you should gain by it others would lose by it. If the thing you sought had been exclusively ours, we would have given it cheerfully; but, being the right of other men, we having a merely arbitrary power over it, the taking it from them and giving it to you became a more delicate matter and more deserving of consideration. Truth to speak, I do not appreciate this matter of rank on paper as you officers do. The world will not forget that you fought the battle of Stone River, and it will never care a fig whether you rank General Grant on paper, or he so ranks you.

As to the appointment of an aide contrary to your wishes, I knew nothing of it until I received your despatch; and the Secretary of War tells me he has known nothing of it, but will trace it out. The examination of course will extend to the case of R. S. Thomas, whom you say you wish appointed.

And now be assured you wrong both yourself and us when you even suspect there is not the best disposition on the part of us all here to oblige you.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 25, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough,
Tenn.:

Your despatches about General Davis and General Mitchell are received. General Davis'

case is not particular, being simply one of a great many recommended and not nominated, because they would transcend the number allowed by law. General Mitchell [*was*] nominated and rejected by the Senate and I do not think it proper for me to re-nominate him without a change of circumstances such as the performance of additional service, or an expressed change of purpose on the part of at least some Senators who opposed him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 23, 1863. 10.10 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough,
Tennessee:

Your despatch of the 21st received. I really cannot say that I have heard any complaint of you. I have heard complaint of a police corps at Nashville, but your name was not mentioned in connection with it, so far as I remember. It may be that by inference you are connected with it, but my attention has never been drawn to it in that light.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 20, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans:

Yours of yesterday in relation to Colonel Haggard is received. I am anxious that you shall not misunderstand me. In no case have I intended to censure you or to question your ability. In Colonel Haggard's case I meant no more than to suggest that possibly you might have been mistaken in a point that could [*be*] corrected.

I frequently make mistakes myself in the many things I am compelled to do hastily.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, D. C., May 20, 1863.
Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough:

The President desires to know whether you have any late news from Grant, or any of the operations on the Mississippi. If you have, please report.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 21, 1863. 4.40 p. m.
Major-General Rosecrans:

For certain reasons it is thought best for Rev. Dr. Jaquess not to come here.

Present my respects to him, and ask him to write me fully on the subject he has in contemplation.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 27, 1863.
Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough,
Tennessee:

Have you anything from Grant? Where is Forrest's headquarters?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, May 28, 1863.
Major-General Rosecrans, Murfreesborough,
Tennessee:

I would not push you to any rashness, but I

am very anxious that you do your utmost, short of rashness, to keep Bragg from getting off to help Johnston against Grant.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 28, 1863.

Major-General Rosecrans.

My dear Sir: I have but a slight personal acquaintance with Colonel Jaquess, though I know him very well by character.

Such a mission as he proposes I think promises good, if it were free from difficulties, which I fear it cannot be.

First. He cannot go with any government authority whatever. This is absolute and imperative.

Secondly. If he goes without authority, he takes a great deal of personal risk—he may be condemned and executed as a spy.

If, for any reason, you think fit to give Colonel Jaquess a furlough, and any authority from me for that object is necessary, you hereby have it for any length of time you see fit.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 10, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans:

Yours of the 1st was received two days ago. I think you must have inferred more than General Halleck has intended, as to any dissatisfaction of mine with you. I am sure you, as a reasonable man, would not have been wounded could you have heard all my words and seen all

my thoughts in regard to you. I have not abated in my kind feeling for you and confidence in you. I have seen most of your despatches to General Halleck—probably all of them. After Grant invested Vicksburg I was very anxious lest Johnston should overwhelm him from the outside, and when it appeared certain that part of Bragg's force had gone and was going to Johnston, it did seem to me it was exactly the proper time for you to attack Bragg with what force he had left. In all kindness let me say it so seems to me yet. Finding from your despatches to General Halleck that your judgment was different, and being very anxious for Grant, I, on one occasion, told General Halleck I thought he should direct you to decide at once to immediately attack Bragg or to stand on the defensive and send part of your force to Grant. He replied he had already so directed in substance. Soon after, despatches from Grant abated my anxiety for him, and in proportion abated my anxiety about any movement of yours. When afterward, however, I saw a despatch of yours arguing that the right time for you to attack Bragg was not before, but would be after, the fall of Vicksburg, it impressed me very strangely, and I think I so stated to the Secretary of War and General Halleck. It seemed no other than the proposition that you could better fight Bragg when Johnston should be at liberty to return and assist him than you could before he could so return to his assistance.

Since Grant has been entirely relieved by the fall of Vicksburg, by which Johnston is also relieved, it has seemed to me that your chance for a stroke has been considerably diminished,

and I have not been pressing you directly or indirectly. True, I am very anxious for East Tennessee to be occupied by us; but I see and appreciate the difficulties you mention. The question occurs, Can the thing be done at all? Does preparation advance at all? Do you not consume supplies as fast as you get them forward? Have you more animals to-day than you had at the battle of Stone's River? And yet have not more been furnished you since then than your entire present stock? I ask the same questions as to your mounted force.

Do not misunderstand: I am not casting blame upon you; I rather think by great exertion you can get to East Tennessee; but a very important question is, Can you stay there? I make no order in the case—that I leave to General Halleck and yourself.

And now be assured once more that I think of you in all kindness and confidence, and that I am not watching you with an evil eye.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 31, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans:

Yours of the 22d was received yesterday. When I wrote you before, I did [*not*] intend, nor do I now, to engage in an argument with you on military questions. You had informed me you were impressed through General Halleck that I was dissatisfied with you; and I could not bluntly deny that I was without unjustly implicating him. I therefore concluded to tell you the plain truth, being satisfied the

matter would thus appear much smaller than it would if seen by mere glimpses. I repeat that my appreciation of you has not abated. I can never forget whilst I remember anything that about the end of last year and beginning of this, you gave us a hard-earned victory, which, had there been a defeat instead, the nation could scarcely have lived over.

Neither can I forget the check you so opportunely gave to a dangerous sentiment which was spreading in the North.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in cipher.*]

War Department,

September 22, 1863. 8.30 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

We have not a word here as to the whereabouts or condition of your army up to a later hour than sunset, Sunday the 20th. Your despatches to me of 9 a. m., and to General Halleck of 2 p. m., yesterday, tell us nothing later on those points. Please relieve my anxiety as to the position and condition of your army up to the latest moment.

A. Lincoln.

Washington, September 21, 1863. 12.55 p. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga:

Be of good cheer. We have unabated confidence in you, and in your soldiers and officers. In the main you must be the judge as to what is to be done. If I were to suggest, I would say,

save your army by taking strong positions until Burnside joins you, when, I hope, you can turn the tide. I think you had better send a courier to Burnside to hurry him up. We cannot reach him by telegraph. We suppose some force is going to you from Corinth, but for want of communication we do not know how they are getting along. We shall do our utmost to assist you. Send us your present positions.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 23, 1863. 9.15 a. m.
Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Below is Bragg's despatch as found in the Richmond papers. You see he does not claim so many prisoners or captured guns as you were inclined to concede. He also confesses to heavy loss. An exchanged general of ours leaving Richmond yesterday says two of Longstreet's divisions and his entire artillery and two of Pickett's brigades and Wise's legion have gone to Tennessee. He mentions no other.

Chickamauga River,

September 20 (via Ringold, 21st).

General Cooper, Adjutant-General:

After two days' hard fighting we have driven the enemy, after a desperate resistance, from several positions, and now hold the field; but he still confronts us. The losses are heavy on both sides, especially in our officers. We have taken over twenty pieces of artillery and some 2500 prisoners.

Braxton Bragg.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,

September 24, 1863. 10 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Last night we received the rebel accounts, through Richmond papers, of your late battle. They give Major-General Hood as mortally wounded, and Brigadiers Preston Smith, Wofford, Walthall, Helm of Kentucky, and Deshler killed, and Major-Generals Preston, Cleburne, and Gregg, and Brigadier-Generals Benning, Adams, Bunn, Brown, and John [B. H.] Helm wounded. By confusion the two Helms may be the same man, and Bunn and Brown may be the same man. With Burnside, Sherman, and from elsewhere we shall get to you from forty to sixty thousand additional men.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 28, 1863.

My dear General Rosecrans:

We are sending you two small corps, one under General Howard and one under General Slocum, and the whole under General Hooker.

Unfortunately the relations between Generals Hooker and Slocum are not such as to promise good, if their present relative positions remain. Therefore, let me beg—almost enjoin upon you—that on their reaching you, you will make a transposition by which General Slocum with his corps may pass from under the command of General Hooker, and General Hooker, in turn, receive some other equal force. It is important

for this to be done, though we could not well arrange it here. Please do it.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
September 28, 1863. 8 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

You can perhaps communicate with General Burnside more rapidly by sending telegrams directly to him at Knoxville. Think of it. I send a like despatch to him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
October 4, 1863. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

Yours of yesterday received. If we can hold Chattanooga and East Tennessee, I think the rebellion must dwindle and die. I think you and Burnside can do this, and hence doing so is your main object. Of course to greatly damage or destroy the enemy in your front would be a greater object, because it would include the former and more, but it is not so certainly within your power. I understand the main body of the enemy is very near you, so near that you could "board at home," so to speak, and menace or attack him any day. Would not the doing of this be your best mode of counteracting his raid on your communications? But this is not an order. I intend doing something like what you

suggest whenever the case shall appear ripe enough to have it accepted in the true understanding rather than as a confession of weakness and fear.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department,

October 12, 1863. 8.35 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

As I understand, Burnside is menaced from the west, and so cannot go to you without surrendering East Tennessee. I now think the enemy will not attack Chattanooga and I think you will have to look out for his making a concentrated drive at Burnside. You and Burnside now have him by the throat; and he must break your hold or perish. I therefore think you better try to hold the road up to Kingston, leaving Burnside to what is above there. Sherman is coming to you, though gaps in the telegraph prevent our knowing how far he is advanced. He and Hooker will so support you on the west and northwest as to enable you to look east and northeast. This is not an order. General Halleck will give his views.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,

October 19, 1863. 9 a. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

There has been no battle recently at Bull Run.

I suppose what you have heard a rumor of was not a general battle but an "affair" at Bristow Station, on the railroad a few miles beyond Manassas Junction toward the Rappahannock, on Wednesday, the 14th. It began by an attack of the enemy upon General Warren, and ended in the enemy being repulsed with a loss of four cannon and from four to seven hundred prisoners.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,
Washington, November 14, 1863. 12.15 p. m.
Major-General Rosecrans, Cincinnati, Ohio:

I have received and considered your despatch of yesterday. Of the reports you mention, I have not the means of seeing any except your own. Besides this, the publication might be improper in view of the court of inquiry which has been ordered. With every disposition, not merely to do justice, but to oblige you, I feel constrained to say I think the publications better not be made now.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., March 10, 1864.
Major-General Rosecrans:

Please carefully examine and consider the question whether, on the whole, it would be advantageous to our military operations for the United States to furnish iron for completing the southwest branch of the Pacific Railroad, all or any part of the way from Rolla to Springfield, Missouri, so fast as the company shall do all the other work for the completion, and to re-

ceive pay for said iron in transportation upon said newly made part of said road; and if your opinion shall be in the affirmative, make a contract with the company to that effect, subject to my approval or rejection. In any event, report the main facts, together with your reasoning, to me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 4, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans:

My dear Sir: This is rather more social than official; containing suggestions rather than orders. I somewhat dread the effect of your Special Order No. 61, dated March 7, 1864. I have found that men who have not even been suspected of disloyalty are very averse to taking an oath of any sort as a condition to exercising an ordinary right of citizenship. The point will probably be made that while men may, without an oath, assemble in a noisy political meeting, they must take the oath to assemble in a religious meeting. It is said, I know not whether truly, that in some parts of Missouri assassinations are systematically committed upon returned rebels who wish to ground arms and behave themselves. This should not be. Of course I have not heard that you give countenance to or wink at such assassinations. Again, it is complained that the enlistment of negroes is not conducted in as orderly a manner and with as little collateral provocation as it might be. So far you have got along in the Department of the Missouri rather better than I dared to

hope, and I congratulate you and myself upon it.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 23, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:

A lady, Mrs. Ward, sister of the late John M. Weimer, is here, saying she is banished from St. Louis, her home, and asking to be allowed to return, on taking the oath and giving bond. It is exclusively with you to decide; but I will thank you to examine the case, and shall be glad if you find it consistent with your views to oblige her.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 11, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:

Complaints are coming to me of disturbances in Carroll, Platte, and Buchanan counties. Please ascertain the truth, correct what is found wrong, and telegraph me.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 8, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:

Yours of to-day received. I am unable to conceive how a message can be less safe by the express than by a staff-officer. If you send a verbal message, the messenger is one additional person let into the secret.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 10, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans:

Major John Hay, the bearer, is one of my private secretaries, to whom please communicate, in writing, or verbally, anything you would think proper to say to me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., June 13, 1864. 3 p. m.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:

The President directs that the archives and papers of the Belgian consulate, alleged to have been taken from the possession of Mr. Hunt, late Belgian consul, by your provost-marshal, be returned to him, and that no proceedings be had against him without orders from this department; that you release him if he be imprisoned, and that you report by telegraph what proceedings, if any, have been had by your provost-marshal, or any other officer under your command, in reference to Mr. Hunt, or the papers and archives of his consulate, and the grounds or causes of such proceedings.

Edwin M. Stanton.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 24, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans, St. Louis, Missouri:

Complaint is made to me that General Brown does not do his best to suppress bushwhackers. Please ascertain and report to me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 26, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans:

One cannot always safely disregard a report, even which one may not believe. I have a report that you incline to deny the soldiers the right of attending the election in Missouri, on the assumed ground that they will get drunk and make a disturbance. Last year I sent General Schofield a letter of instruction, dated October 1, 1863, which I suppose you will find on the files of the department, and which contains among other things the following: "At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including as of those laws the restrictions laid by the Missouri Convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion." This I thought right then, and think right now; and, I may add, I do not remember that either party complained after the election of General Schofield's action under it. Wherever the law allows soldiers to vote, their officers must also allow it. Please write me on this subject.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 19, 1864.

Major-General Rosecrans:

A Major Wolf, as it seems, was under sentence in your department to be executed in retaliation for the murder of a Major Wilson, and I, without any particular knowledge of the facts, was induced by appeals for mercy to order the suspension of his execution till further order.

Understanding that you so desire, this letter places the case again within your control, with the remark only that I wish you to do nothing merely for revenge, but that what you may do shall be solely done with reference to the security of the future. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ROSETTE, JOHN E.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Ill., February 20, 1857.

John E. Rosette, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Your note about the little paragraph in the "Republican" was received yesterday, since which time I have been too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or approved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by the conversation with me that I thought the establishment of the paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obstacle in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking and paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to my house, my wife said to me, "Now are you going to take another worthless little paper?" I said to her *evasively*, "I have not directed the paper to be left." From this, in my absence, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole story.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ROSS, JOHN.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 25, 1862.

John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

Sir: Your letter of the 16th instant was re-

ceived two days ago. In the multitude of cares claiming my constant attention, I have been unable to examine and determine the exact treaty relations between the United States and the Cherokee Nation. Neither have I been able to investigate and determine the exact state of facts claimed by you as constituting a failure of treaty obligations on our part, and excusing the Cherokee Nation for making a treaty with a portion of the people of the United States in open rebellion against the government thereof.

This letter, therefore, must not be understood to decide anything upon these questions. I shall, however, cause a careful investigation of them to be made. Meanwhile the Cherokee people remaining practically loyal to the Federal Union will receive all the protection which can be given them consistently with the duty of the government to the whole country. I sincerely hope the Cherokee Nation may not again be overrun by the enemy, and I shall do all I consistently can to prevent it.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[Oct. 10, 1862. See CURTIS, S. R.]

ROWAN, STEPHEN C.

[See LARDNER, JOHN L.]

RUSSELL, CALEB, AND FENTON, SALLIE A.

Washington, January 5, 1863.

My Good Friends:

The Honorable Senator Harlan has just placed in my hands your letter of the 27th of December, which I have read with pleasure and gratitude.

It is most cheering and encouraging for me to know that in the efforts which I have made and am making for the restoration of a righteous peace to our country, I am upheld and sustained by the good wishes and prayers of God's people. No one is more deeply than myself aware that without His favor our highest wisdom is but as foolishness and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure.

I am conscious of no desire for my country's welfare that is not in consonance with His will, and of no plan upon which we may not ask His blessing. It seems to me that if there be one subject upon which all good men may unitedly agree, it is imploring the gracious favor of the God of Nations upon the struggles our people are making for the preservation of their precious birthright of civil and religious liberty.

Very truly your friend,
A. Lincoln.

SANDS, NATHANIEL.

[See ASTOR, J. J.]

SANDS, ———.

[*Memorandum.*]

After the report mentioned was made, this case, including the report, was brought before me, and upon quite full hearing and consideration, my conclusion was that Mr. Sands is probably a rather disagreeable man, and that these charges made to get rid of him are frivolous. Such is my present impression.

A. Lincoln.

August 10, 1863.

SANDERS, GEORGE N.

[See CLAY, CLEMENT C.]

SANFORD, PORTER & STRIKER.

Springfield, March 10, 1855.

Messrs. Sanford, Porter, & Striker,
New York.

Gentlemen: Yours of the 5th is received, as also was that of 15th Dec. last, inclosing bond of Clift to Pray. When I received the bond I was dabbling in politics, and of course neglecting business. Having since been beaten out I have gone to work again.

As I do not practice in Rushville I to-day open a correspondence with Henry E. Dummer, Esq., of Beardstown, Ills., with the view of getting the job into his hands. He is a good man, if he will undertake it. Write me whether I shall do this or return the bond to you.

Very respectfully,
A. Lincoln.

SAXTON, RUFUS.

[Telegram.]

War Department, May 24, 1862. 1 p. m.

General Saxton:

Geary reports Jackson with 20,000 moving from Ashby's Gap by the Little River turnpike, through Aldie, toward Centreville. This, he says, is reliable. He is also informed of large forces south of him. We know a force of some 15,000 broke up Saturday night from in front of Fredericksburg and went we know not where. Please inform us, if possible, what has become of the

force which pursued Banks yesterday; also any other information you have.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862. 6.50 p. m.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry:

One good six-gun battery, complete in its men and appointments, is now on its way to you from Baltimore. Eleven other guns, of different sorts, are on their way to you from here. Hope they will all reach you before morning. As you have but 2500 men at Harper's Ferry, where are the rest which were in that vicinity and which we have sent forward? Have any of them been cut off?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862. 4.15 p. m.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry:

If Banks reaches Martinsburg, is he any the better for it? Will not the enemy cut him from thence to Harper's Ferry? Have you sent anything to meet him and assist him at Martinsburg? This is an inquiry, not an order.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, May 25, 1862.
General Saxton, Harper's Ferry:

I fear you have mistaken me. I did not mean to question the correctness of your conduct; on the contrary, I approve what you have done. As the 2500 reported by you seemed small to me, I feared some had got to Banks and been cut off

with him. Please tell me the exact number you now have in hand.

A. Lincoln.

SCATES, WALTER B.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 21, 1865.

Hon. Walter B. Scates,
Centralia, Illinois:

If you choose to go to New Mexico and reside, I will appoint you chief justice there. What say you? Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

SCHAADT, CAPTAIN.

[*Indorsement.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, April 30, 1863.

Such facts are brought to my notice as induce me to withhold my approval of the dismissal of Captain Schaadt, named within. He is satisfactorily proved to me to be of good character for candor and manliness, and generally; and that he was most active and efficient in Pennsylvania last autumn in raising troops for the Union. All this should not retain him in the service if, since then, he has given himself in any way to the injury of the service. How this is I must understand better than I now do before I can approve his dismissal. What has he done? What has he said? If, as is claimed for him, he is guilty of nothing but the withholding his vote or sanction from a certain resolution or resolutions,

I think his dismissal is wrong, even though I might think the resolution itself right and very proper to be adopted by such as choose. Captain Schaadt will report himself to General Hunter and deliver him this paper for his further action.

A. Lincoln.

SCHENCK, ROBERT C.

Headquarters Department N. E. Virginia,
Arlington, June 17, 1861.

Brigadier-General Schenck,
Commanding Ohio Brigade.

Sir: The general commanding directs that you send one of the regiments of your command on a train of cars up the London and Hampshire Railroad to the point where it crosses the wagon-road running from Fort Corcoran (opposite Georgetown) southerly into Virginia.

The regiment, being established at that point, will by suitable patrols feel the way along the road to Falls Church and Vienna, moving, however, with caution, and making it a special duty to guard effectually the railroad bridges and look to the track.

The regiment will go supplied for a tour of duty of twenty-four hours, and will move on the arrival at your camp of a train of cars ordered for that purpose, and will relieve all the troops of Colonel Hunter's brigade now guarding the line.

I am, sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,
James B. Fry, A. A. G.

As appears by the order, General Schenck was not ordered to go himself, but merely to send a regiment; and he went himself because the colonels of both his regiments happened to be absent; but he took Colonel McCook's regiment, and Colonel McCook overtook and joined him before the disaster occurred; and to whom (he being a regularly educated military man) the order was at once shown, and General Schenck did nothing afterward but upon his full concurrence. It is not true, as has been stated, that any notice was given General Schenck of a battery being at Vienna. It is

true that a countryman told General Schenck he had heard there were troops at Vienna. He was asked if he had seen them, and he said not; he was asked if he had seen any one who had seen them, and he said not; but he had seen a man who had heard there were troops there. This was heard by Colonel McCook as well as General Schenck; and on consultation they agreed that it was but a vague rumor.

It is a fact that not an officer or private who was present at the disaster has ever cast a word of blame upon either General Schenck or Colonel McCook; but, on the contrary, they are all anxious to have another trial under the same officers.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 14, 1863.

Major-General Schenck:

Get General Milroy from Winchester to Harper's Ferry, if possible. He will be "gobbled up" if he remains, if he is not already past salvation.

A. Lincoln, President United States.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 4, 1863. - 20 p. m.

Major-General Schenck,

Baltimore, Maryland:

Your despatches about negro regiments are not uninteresting or unnoticed by us, but we have not been quite ready to respond. You will have an answer to-morrow.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram in Cipher.*]

War Department,

Washington, D. C., July 12, 1863.

Major-General Schenck,

Baltimore, Md.:

You seem to misunderstand the nature of the

objection to General Tremble's going to Baltimore. His going there is opposed to prevent his meeting his traitorous associates there.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

July 14, 1863. 1.40 p. m.

Major-General Schenck,

Baltimore, Maryland:

Mr. Jaquess is a very worthy gentleman, but I can have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the matter he has in view.

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 23, 1863.

Major-General Schenck.

My dear Sir: Returning to the Executive Room yesterday, I was mortified to find you were gone, leaving no word of explanation. I went downstairs, as I understood, on a perfect understanding with you that you would remain till my return. I got this impression distinctly from "Edward," whom I believe you know. Possibly I misunderstood him. I had been very unwell in the morning, and had scarcely tasted food during the day, till the time you saw me go down.

I beg you will not believe I have treated you with intentional discourtesy.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[Telegram.]

Executive Mansion, Washington,

October 21, 1863. 2.45 p. m.

Major-General Schenck,

Baltimore, Maryland:

A delegation is here saying that our armed colored troops are at many, if not all, the landings on the Patuxent River, and by their presence with arms in their hands are frightening quiet people and producing great confusion. Have they been sent there by any order, and if so, for what reason?

A. Lincoln.

[Telegram.]

Executive Mansion, Washington,

October 22, 1863. 1.30 p. m.

Major-General Schenck,

Baltimore, Maryland:

Please come over here. The fact of one of our officers being killed on the Patuxent is a specimen of what I would avoid. It seems to me we could send white men to recruit better than to send negroes and thus inaugurate homicides on *punctilio*. Please come over.

A. Lincoln.

SCHENCK, ROBERT C., AND BLAIR, FRANK P., JR.

To the House of Representatives: In obedience to the resolution of your honorable body, a copy of which is herewith returned, I have the honor to make the following brief statement, which is believed to contain the information sought:

Prior to and at the meeting of the present Congress, Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, and

Frank P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri, members elect thereto, by and with the consent of the Senate held commissions from the executive as major-generals in the volunteer army. General Schenck tendered the resignation of his said commission, and took his seat in the House of Representatives, at the assembling thereof, upon the distinct verbal understanding with the Secretary of War and the executive that he might, at any time during the session, at his own pleasure, withdraw said resignation and return to the field.

General Blair was, by temporary assignment of General Sherman, in command of a corps through the battles in front of Chattanooga, and in the march to the relief of Knoxville, which occurred in the latter days of November and early days of December last, and of course was not present at the assembling of Congress. When he subsequently arrived here, he sought, and was allowed by the Secretary of War and the executive, the same conditions and promise as allowed and made to General Schenck.

General Schenck has not applied to withdraw his resignation; but when General Grant was made lieutenant-general, producing some change of commanders, General Blair sought to be assigned to the command of a corps. This was made known to Generals Grant and Sherman, and assented to by them, and the particular corps for him designated. This was all arranged and understood, as now remembered, so much as a month ago; but the formal withdrawal of General Blair's resignation, and making the order assigning him to the command of the corps, were not consummated at the War Department until

last week, perhaps on the 23d of April instant. As a summary of the whole, it may be stated that General Blair holds no military commission or appointment other than as herein stated, and that it is believed he is now acting as major-general upon the assumed validity of the commission herein stated, in connection with the facts herein stated, and not otherwise.

There are some letters, notes, telegrams, orders, entries, and perhaps other documents, in connection with this subject, which it is believed would throw no additional light upon it, but which will be cheerfully furnished if desired.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, April 28, 1864.

[See also BRADFORD, A. W.]

SCHERMERHORN, I. M.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 12, 1864.

Isaac M. Schermerhorn, Buffalo, New York.

My dear Sir: Your letter, mentioned in your two telegrams, has not yet reached me, so that I am without knowledge of its particulars. I beg you to pardon me for having concluded that it is not best for me now to write a general letter to a political meeting.

First, I believe it is not customary for one holding the office, and being a candidate for re-election, to do so; and, secondly, a public letter must be written with some care, and at some expense of time, so that having begun with your meeting, I could not well refuse others, and

yet could not get through with all having equal claims.

Please tender to those you represent, my sincere thanks for the invitation, and my appeal to their indulgence for having declined their request.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[Dec. 10, 1862. See CURTIS, S. R.]

SCHOFIELD, JOHN M.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 27, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

My dear Sir: Having relieved General Curtis and assigned you to the command of the Department of the Missouri, I think it may be of some advantage for me to state to you why I did it. I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves—General Curtis, perhaps not of choice, being the head of one faction and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty, it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow; and as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis. Now that you are in the position I wish you to undo nothing merely because General Curtis or Governor Gamble did it, but to exercise your own judgment,

and do right for the public interest. Let your military measures be strong enough to repel the invader and keep the peace, and not so strong as to unnecessarily harass and persecute the people. It is a difficult rôle, and so much greater will be the honor if you perform it well. If both factions, or neither, shall abuse you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 22, 1863.

General John M. Schofield.

My dear Sir: Your despatch, asking in substance whether, in case Missouri shall adopt gradual emancipation, the General Government will protect slave-owners in that species of property during the short time it shall be permitted by the State to exist within it, has been received. Desirous as I am that emancipation shall be adopted by Missouri, and believing as I do that gradual can be made better than immediate for both black and white, except when military necessity changes the case, my impulse is to say that such protection would be given. I cannot know exactly what shape an act of emancipation may take. If the period from the initiation to the final end should be comparatively short, and the act should prevent persons being sold during that period into more lasting slavery, the whole would be easier. I do not wish to pledge the General Government to the affirmative support of even temporary slavery beyond what can be fairly claimed under the Constitution. I sup-

pose, however, this is not desired, but that it is desired for the military force of the United States, while in Missouri, to not be used in subverting the temporarily reserved legal rights in slaves during the progress of emancipation. This I would desire also. I have very earnestly urged the slave States to adopt emancipation; and it ought to be, and is, an object with me not to overthrow or thwart what any of them may in good faith do to that end. You are therefore authorized to act in the spirit of this letter in conjunction with what may appear to be the military necessities of your department. Although this letter will become public at some time, it is not intended to be made so now.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,

Washington, July 13, 1863.

General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.:

I regret to learn of the arrest of the "Democrat" editor. I fear this loses you the middle position I desired you to occupy. I have not learned which of the two letters I wrote you it was that the "Democrat" published, but I care very little for the publication of any letter I have written. Please spare me the trouble this is likely to bring.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 20, 1863.

Major-General John M. Schofield.

My dear General: I have received and read your letter of the 14th of July.

I think the suggestion you make, of discontinuing proceedings against Mr. McKee, a very proper one. While I admit that there is an apparent impropriety in the publication of the letter mentioned, without my consent or yours, it is still a case where no evil could result, and which I am entirely willing to overlook.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

July 22, 1863. 10.45 a. m.

Major-General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.:

The following despatch has been placed in my hands. Please look to the subject of it.

Lexington, Mo., July 21, 1863.

Hon. S. C. Pomeroy:

Under Orders No. 63, the sheriff is arresting slaves of rebels inside our lines, and returning them in great numbers. Can he do it? Answer.

Gould.

A. Lincoln.

[July 23, 1863. See GAMBLE, HAMILTON R.]

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

August 27, 1863. 8.30 a. m.

General Schofield, St. Louis:

I have just received the despatch which follows from two very influential citizens of Kansas, whose names I omit. The severe blow they have received naturally enough makes them intemperate even without there being any just cause for

blame. Please do your utmost to give them future security and to punish their invaders.

A. Lincoln.

On September 30, 1863, the President wrote General Schofield, at Saint Louis, Mo., enclosing a despatch which stated that Union men were being driven out of Missouri.

The President asked General Schofield to look into the matter, "and if true, in whole or part, put a stop to it."

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., October 1, 1863.

General John M. Schofield:

There is no organized military force in avowed opposition to the General Government now in Missouri, and if any such shall reappear, your duty in regard to it will be too plain to require any special instruction. Still, the condition of things both there and elsewhere is such as to render it indispensable to maintain for a time the United States military establishment, in that State, as well as to rely upon it for a fair contribution of support to that establishment generally. Your immediate duty in regard to Missouri now is to advance the efficiency of that establishment, and to so use it as far as practicable to compel the excited people there to leave one another alone. Under your recent order, which I have approved, you will only arrest individuals and suppress assemblies or newspapers when they may be working palpable injury to the military in your charge, and in no other case will you interfere with the expression of opinion in any form or allow it to be interfered with violently by others. In this you have a discretion

to exercise with great caution, calmness, and forbearance. With the matters of removing the inhabitants of certain counties *en masse*, and of removing certain individuals from time to time who are supposed to be mischievous, I am not now interfering, but am leaving to your own discretion. Nor am I interfering with what may still seem to you to be necessary restrictions upon trade and intercourse. I think proper, however, to enjoin upon you the following:

Allow no part of the military under your command to be engaged in either returning fugitive slaves or in forcing or enticing slaves from their homes, and, so far as practicable, enforce the same forbearance upon the people.

Report to me your opinion upon the availability for good of the enrolled militia of the State.

Allow no one to enlist colored troops except upon orders from you or from here, through you.

Allow no one to assume the functions of confiscating property under the law of Congress, or otherwise, except upon orders from here.

At elections see that those, and only those, are allowed to vote who are entitled to do so by the laws of Missouri, including, as of those laws, the restriction laid by the Missouri convention upon those who may have participated in the rebellion.

So far as practicable, you will, by means of your military force, expel guerrillas, marauders, and murderers, and all who are known to harbor, aid, or abet them. But in like manner you will repress assumptions of unauthorized individuals to perform the same service because, under pretense of doing this, they become marauders and murderers themselves.

To now restore peace, let the military obey orders, and those not of the military leave each other alone, thus not breaking the peace themselves.

In giving the above directions, it is not intended to restrain you in other expedient and necessary matters not falling within their range.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

October 2, 1863. 9 a. m.

Major-General Schofield:

I have just seen your despatch to Halleck about Major-General Blunt. If possible, you better allow me to get through with a certain matter here before adding to the difficulties of it. Meantime supply me the particulars of Major-General Blunt's case.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

October 4, 1863. 11 a. m.

Major-General Schofield, St. Louis, Mo.:

I think you will not have just cause to complain of my action.

A. Lincoln.

[Oct. 5, 1863. See DRAKE, CHARLES D.]

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, October 28, 1863.

General John M. Schofield:

There have recently reached the War Depart-

ment, and thence been laid before me, from Missouri, three communications, all similar in import and identical in object. One of them, addressed to nobody, and without place or date, but having the signature of (apparently) the writer, is a letter of eight closely written foolscap pages. The other two are written by a different person, at St. Joseph, Mo., and of the dates, respectively, October 12 and 13, 1863, and each inclosing a large number of affidavits. The general statements of the whole are that the Federal and State authorities are arming the disloyal and disarming the loyal, and that the latter will all be killed or driven out of the State unless there shall be a change. In particular, no loyal man who has been disarmed is named, but the affidavits show by name forty-two persons as disloyal who have been armed. They are as follows: [*The names are omitted.*]

A majority of these are shown to have been in the rebel service. I believe it could be shown that the government here has deliberately armed more than ten times as many captured at Gettysburg, to say nothing of similar operations in East Tennessee. These papers contain altogether thirty-one manuscript pages, and one newspaper *in extenso*, and yet I do not find it anywhere charged in them that any loyal man has been harmed by reason of being disarmed, or that any disloyal one has harmed anybody by reason of being armed by the Federal or State Government. Of course, I have not had time to carefully examine all; but I have had most of them examined and briefed by others, and the result is as stated. The remarkable fact that the actual evil is yet only anticipated—inferred—induces

me to suppose I understand the case; but I do not state my impression, because I might be mistaken, and because your duty and mine is plain in any event. The locality of nearly all this seems to be St. Joseph and Buchanan County. I wish you to give special attention to this region, particularly on election day. Prevent violence from whatever quarter, and see that the soldiers themselves do no wrong.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[Sept. 26, 1864. See ROSECRANS, W. S.]

Washington, D. C., Nov. 10, 1863.
General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I see a despatch here from Saint Louis, which is a little difficult for me to understand. It says "General Schofield has refused leave of absence to members in military service to attend the legislature. All such are radical and administration men. The election of two Senators from this place on Thursday will probably turn upon this thing." What does this mean? Of course members of the legislature must be allowed to attend its sessions. But how is there a session before the recent election returns are in? And how is it to be at "this place"—and that is Saint Louis? Please inform me.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., November 11, 1863.
General Schofield, Saint Louis, Mo.:

I believe the Secretary of War has telegraphed you about members of the legislature. At all events, allow those in the service to attend the

session, and we can afterward decide whether they can stay through the entire session.

A. Lincoln.

SCHOOLER, ———.

Washington, February 2, 1849.

Friend Schooler: In these days of Cabinet making, we out West are awake as well as others. The accompanying article is from the "Illinois Journal," our leading Whig paper; and while it expresses what all the Whigs of the legislatures of Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin have expressed, —a preference for Colonel Baker,—I think it is fair and magnanimous to the other Western aspirants; and, on the whole, shows by sound argument that the West is not only entitled to, but is in need of, one member of the Cabinet. Desiring to turn public attention in some measure to this point, I shall be obliged if you will give the article a place in your paper, with or without comments, according to your own sense of propriety.

Our acquaintance, though short, has been very cordial, and I therefore venture to hope you will not consider my request presumptuous, whether you shall or shall not think proper to grant it. This I intend as private and confidential.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

SCHURZ, CARL.

[May 13, 1861. See CAMERON, SIMON.]

Washington, June 16, 1862.

Brigadier-General Schurz, Mount Jackson, Virginia:

Your long letter is received. The information you give is valuable. You say it is fortunate that

Frémont did not intercept Jackson; that Jackson had the superior force, and would have overwhelmed him. If this is so, how happened it that Frémont fairly fought and routed him on the 8th? Or is the account that he did fight and route him false and fabricated? Both General Frémont and you speak of Jackson having beaten Shields. By our accounts he did not beat Shields. He had no engagement with Shields. He did meet and drive back with disaster about 2000 of Shields's advance till they were met by an additional brigade of Shields's, when Jackson himself turned and retreated. Shields himself and more than half his force were not nearer than twenty miles to any of it.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 24, 1862.
General Carl Schurz.

My dear Sir: I have just received and read your letter of the 20th. The purport of it is that we lost the late elections and the Administration is failing because the war is unsuccessful, and that I must not flatter myself that I am not justly to blame for it. I certainly know that if the war fails, the Administration fails, and that I will be blamed for it, whether I deserve it or not. And I ought to be blamed if I could do better. You think I could do better; therefore, you blame me already. I think I could not do better; therefore I blame you for blaming me. I understand you now to be willing to accept the help of men who are not Republicans, provided they have "heart in it." Agreed. I want no others. But who is to be the judge of hearts, or of "heart

in it"? If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left, Republicans or others—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine. I certainly have been dissatisfied with the slowness of Buell and McClellan; but before I relieved them I had great fears I should not find successors to them who would do better; and I am sorry to add that I have seen little since to relieve those fears.

I do not clearly see the prospect of any more rapid movements. I fear we shall at last find out that the difficulty is in our case rather than in particular generals. I wish to disparage no one—certainly not those who sympathize with me; but I must say I need success more than I need sympathy, and that I have not seen the so much greater evidence of getting success from my sympathizers than from those who are denounced as the contrary. It does seem to me that in the field the two classes have been very much alike in what they have done and what they have failed to do. In sealing their faith with their blood, Baker and Lyon and Bohlen and Richardson, Republicans, did all that men could do; but did they any more than Kearny and Stevens and Reno and Mansfield, none of whom were Republicans, and some at least of whom have been bitterly and repeatedly denounced to me as secession sympathizers? I will not perform the ungrateful task of comparing cases of failure.

In answer to your question, "Has it not been publicly stated in the newspapers, and apparently proved as a fact, that from the commencement of the war the enemy was continually supplied with information by some of the confidential subordinates of as important an officer as Adjutant-General Thomas?" I must say "No," as far as my knowledge extends. And I add that if you can give any tangible evidence upon the subject, I will thank you to come to this city and do so.

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 11, 1863.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: I cannot comply with your request to take your division away from the Army of the Potomac. General Hooker does not wish it done. I do not myself see a good reason why it should be done. The division will do itself and its officers more honor and the country more service where it is. Besides these general reasons, as I understand, the Army of the Potomac will move before these proposed changes could be conveniently made. I always wish to oblige you, but I cannot in this case.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Washington, March 13, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: Yours of February 29 reached me only four days ago; but the delay was of little con-

sequence because I found, on feeling around, I could not invite you here without a difficulty which at least would be unpleasant, and perhaps would be detrimental to the public service. Allow me to suggest that if you wish to remain in the military service, it is very dangerous for you to get temporarily out of it; because, with a major-general once out, it is next to impossible for even the President to get him in again. With my appreciation of your ability and correct principle, of course I would be very glad to have your service for the country in the approaching political canvass; but I fear we cannot properly have it without separating you from the military.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 23, 1864.

Major-General Schurz.

My dear Sir: The letter, of which the above is a copy, was sent to you before Mr. Willman saw me, and now yours of the 19th tells me you did not receive it. I do not wish to be more specific about the difficulty of your coming to Washington. I think you can easily conjecture it.

I perceive no objection to your making a political speech when you are where one is to be made; but quite surely speaking in the North and fighting in the South at the same time are not possible; nor could I be justified to detail any officer to the political campaign during its continuance and then return him to the army.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[July 27, 1864. See JOHNSON, ANDREW.]

SCOTT, WINFIELD.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

Mr. Lincoln tenders his sincere thanks to General Scott for the copy of his "views," etc., which is received; and especially for this renewed manifestation of his patriotic purpose as a citizen, connected, as it is, with his high official position and most distinguished character as a military captain.

A. L.

Springfield, Illinois, January 11, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott.

My dear Sir: I herewith beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 4th instant, inclosing (documents Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) copies of correspondence and notes of conversation with the President of the United States and the Secretary of War concerning various military movements suggested by yourself for the better protection of the government and the maintenance of public order.

Permit me to renew to you the assurance of my high appreciation of the many past services you have rendered the Union, and of my deep gratification at this evidence of your present active exertions to maintain the integrity and honor of the nation.

I shall be highly pleased to receive from time to time such communications from yourself as you may deem it proper to make to me.

Very truly your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

War Department, March 9, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: I am directed by the President to say he desires you to exercise all possible vigilance for the maintenance of all the places within the military department of the United States, and to promptly call upon all the departments of the government for the means necessary to that end.

Simon Cameron.

Executive Mansion, March 9, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: On the 5th instant I received from the Hon. Joseph Holt, the then faithful and vigilant Secretary of War, a letter of that date, inclosing a letter and accompanying documents received by him on the 4th instant from Major Robert Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter, South Carolina; and copies of all which I now transmit. Immediately on receipt of them by me, I transmitted the whole to you for your consideration; and the same day you returned the package to me with your opinion indorsed upon it, a copy of which opinion I now also transmit to you. Learning from you verbally that since then you have given the subject a more full and thorough consideration, you will much oblige me by giving answers, in writing, to the following interrogatories:

(1) To what point of time can Major Anderson maintain his position at Fort Sumter, without fresh supplies or reinforcements?

(2) Can you, with all the means now in your

control, supply or reinforce Fort Sumter within that time?

(3) If not, what amount of means, and of what description, in addition to that already at your control, would enable you to supply and reinforce that fortress within the time?

Please answer these, adding such statements, information, and counsel as your great skill and experience may suggest.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

Would it impose too much labor on General Scott to make short comprehensive daily reports to me of what occurs in his department, including movements by himself, and under his orders, and the receipt of intelligence? If not, I will thank him to do so.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

Washington, April 25, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: The Maryland legislature assembles to-morrow at Annapolis, and not improbably will take action to arm the people of that State against the United States. The question has been submitted to and considered by me, whether it would not be justifiable, upon the ground of necessary defense, for you, as general-in-chief of the United States army, to arrest or disperse the members of that body. I think it would not be justifiable nor efficient for the desired object.

First, they have a clearly legal right to assemble; and we cannot know in advance that their action will not be lawful and peaceful. And if we wait until they shall have acted, their arrest or dispersion will not lessen the effect of their action.

Secondly, we cannot permanently prevent their action. If we arrest them, we cannot long hold them as prisoners; and, when liberated, they will immediately reassemble and take their action; and precisely the same if we simply disperse them—they will immediately reassemble in some other place.

I therefore conclude that it is only left to the commanding general to watch and await their action, which, if it shall be to arm their people against the United States, he is to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even, if necessary, to the bombardment of their cities, and, in the extremest necessity, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

To the Commanding General,

Army of the United States:

You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the city of Philadelphia and the city of Washington you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point at which re-

sistance occurs, are authorized to suspend the writ.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, April 27, 1861.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion, June 5, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

My dear Sir: Doubtless you begin to understand how disagreeable it is for me to do a thing arbitrarily when it is unsatisfactory to others associated with me.

I very much wish to appoint Colonel Meigs quartermaster-general, and yet General Cameron does not quite consent. I have come to know Colonel Meigs quite well for a short acquaintance, and, so far as I am capable of judging, I do not know one who combines the qualities of masculine intellect, learning, and experience of the right sort, and physical power of labor and endurance, so well as he.

I know he has great confidence in you, always sustaining, so far as I have observed, your opinions against any differing ones.

You will lay me under one more obligation if you can and will use your influence to remove General Cameron's objection. I scarcely need tell you I have nothing personal in this, having never seen or heard of Colonel Meigs until about the end of last March.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[*Order.*]

To the Commanding General,

Army of the United States:

You are engaged in suppressing an insurrection

against the laws of the United States. If at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the city of New York and the city of Washington you find resistance which renders it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety, you personally, or through the officer in command at the point where resistance occurs, are authorized to suspend that writ.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States at the city of Washington, this second day of July, A.D. 1861, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

Abraham Lincoln.

By the President:

William H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Washington, D. C., September 16, 1861.

My dear Sir: Since conversing with you I have concluded to request you to frame an order for recruiting North Carolinians at Fort Hatteras. I suggest it to be so framed as for us to accept a smaller force—even a company—if we cannot get a regiment or more. What is necessary to now say about officers you will judge. Governor Seward says he has a nephew (Clarence A. Seward, I believe) who would be willing to go and play colonel and assist in raising the force. Still it is to be considered whether the North Carolinians will not prefer officers of their own. I should expect they would.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

On October 14, 1861, President Lincoln authorized Lieutenant-General Winfield S. Scott to suspend, if necessary, the Writ of Habeas Corpus as far north as Bangor, Maine.

[*General Orders No. 94.*]

War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, November 1, 1861.

The following order from the President of the United States announcing the retirement from active command of the honored veteran Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott will be read by the army with profound regret:

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 1, 1861.

"On the 1st day of November, A.D. 1861, upon his own application to the President of the United States, Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott is ordered to be placed, and hereby is placed, upon the list of retired officers of the army of the United States, without reduction in his current pay, subsistence, or allowances.

"The American people will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from the active control of the army, while the President and a unanimous cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal afflictions, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag when assailed by parricidal rebellion.

"Abraham Lincoln."

The President is pleased to direct that Major-General George B. McClellan assume the command of the army of the United States.

The headquarters of the army will be established in the city of Washington.

All communications intended for the commanding general will hereafter be addressed direct to the adjutant-general.

The duplicate returns, orders, and other papers heretofore sent to the assistant adjutant-general, headquarters of the army, will be discontinued.

By order of the Secretary of War:

L. Thomas, Adjutant-General.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 1, 1865.

To Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, President;
Howard Potter, Wm. E. Dodge, Jr., and
Theo. Roosevelt.

Gentlemen: I have received your address on the part of the Bureau for the Employment of Disabled and Discharged Soldiers which has recently been established in connection with the Protective War Claim Association of the Sanitary Commission.

It gives me pleasure to assure you of my hearty concurrence with the purposes you announce, and I shall at all times be ready to recognize the paramount claims of the soldiers of the nation in the disposition of public trusts. I shall be glad also to make these suggestions to the several heads of departments.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

SCRIPPS, JOHN L.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 4, 1864.

To John L. Scripps, Esq.

Dear Sir: Complaint is made to me that you are using your official power to defeat Mr. Arnold's nomination to Congress. I am well satisfied with Mr. Arnold as a member of Congress, and I do not know that the man who might supplant him would be as satisfactory; but the correct principle, I think, is that all our friends should have absolute freedom of choice among our friends. My wish, therefore, is that you will do just as you think fit with your own suffrage in the case, and not constrain any of your subordinates to [*do*] other than [*as*] he thinks fit with his. This is precisely the rule I inculcated and adhered to on my part, when a certain other nomination, now recently made, was being canvassed for.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 20, 1864.

Hon. J. L. Scripps.

My dear Sir: I have received and read yours of the 15th. Mine to you was only a copy, with names changed, of what I had said to another postmaster, on a similar complaint; and the two are the only cases in which that precise complaint has, as yet, been made to me. I think that in these cases I have stated the principle correctly for all public officers, and I certainly wish all would follow it. But I do not quite like to publish a general circular on the subject, and it

would be rather laborious to write a separate letter to each.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

SEBASTIAN, WILLIAM K.

[See HURLBUT, S. A., July 31, 1863.]

SEGAR, JOSEPH.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 23, 1863.

Hon. Joseph Segar.

My dear Sir: My recollection is that Accomac and Northampton counties (eastern shore of Virginia) were not exempted from a proclamation issued some short while after the adjournment of Congress; that some time after the issuing of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September, and before the issuing of the final one on January 1, 1863, you called on me and requested that the "eastern shore of Virginia" might be exempted from both the summer proclamation and the final Emancipation Proclamation. I told you that the non-exemption of it from the former was a mere omission which would be corrected; and that it should also be exempted from the final Emancipation Proclamation. The preliminary Emancipation Proclamation does not define what is included or excluded; but only gives notice that this will be done in the final one.

Both yourself and General Dix at different times (General Dix in writing) called my attention to the fact that I had omitted to exempt the "eastern shore of Virginia" from the first

proclamation; and this was all that was needed to have me correct it. Without being reminded by either him or yourself, I do not think I should have omitted to exempt it from the final Emancipation Proclamation; but at all events you did not allow me to forget it. Supposing it was your duty to your constituents to attend to these matters, I think you acted with entire good faith and fidelity to them.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, D. C., September 5, 1863.
Hon. Joseph Segar,
Fort Monroe, Va.:

I have just seen your dispatch to the Secretary of War, who is absent. I also send a dispatch from Major Hayner of the 3d showing that he had notice of my order, and stating that the people were jubilant over it, as a victory over the Government extorted by fear, and that he had already collected about [\$]4,000 of the money. If he has proceeded since I shall hold him accountable for his contumacy. On the contrary, no dollar shall be refunded by my order until it shall appear that my act in the case has been accepted in the right spirit.

A. Lincoln.

SEWARD, WILLIAM H.

Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1860.

My dear Sir: With your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of State for the United

States. Please let me hear from you at your own earliest convenience.

Your friend and obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

[Private and Confidential.]

Springfield, Illinois, December 8, 1860.

My dear Sir: In addition to the accompanying and more formal note inviting you to take charge of the State Department, I deem it proper to address you this. Rumors have got into the newspapers to the effect that the department named above would be tendered you as a compliment, and with the expectation that you would decline it. I beg you to be assured that I have said nothing to justify these rumors. On the contrary, it has been my purpose, from the day of the nomination at Chicago, to assign you, by your leave, this place in the administration. I have delayed so long to communicate that purpose in deference to what appeared to me a proper caution in the case. Nothing has been developed to change my view in the premises; and I now offer you the place in the hope that you will accept it, and with the belief that your position in the public eye, your integrity, ability, learning, and great experience, all combine to render it an appointment preëminently fit to be made.

One word more. In regard to the patronage sought with so much eagerness and jealousy, I have prescribed for myself the maxim, "Justice to all"; and I earnestly beseech your coöperation in keeping the maxim good.

Your friend and obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 3, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Yours without signature was received last night. I have been considering your suggestions as to my reaching Washington somewhat earlier than is usual. It seems to me the inauguration is not the most dangerous point for us. Our adversaries have us now clearly at disadvantage. On the second Wednesday of February, when the votes should be officially counted, if the two Houses refuse to meet at all, or meet without a quorum of each, where shall we be? I do not think that this counting is constitutionally essential to the election; but how are we to proceed in absence of it?

In view of this, I think it best for me not to attempt appearing in Washington till the result of that ceremony is known. It certainly would be of some advantage if you could know who are to be at the heads of the War and Navy departments; but until I can ascertain definitely whether I can get any suitable men from the South, and who, and how many, I cannot well decide. As yet I have no word from Mr. Gilmer in answer to my request for an interview with him. I look for something on the subject, through you, before long.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Springfield, Illinois, January 12, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 8th received. I still hope Mr. Gilmer will, on a fair understanding

with us, consent to take a place in the cabinet. The preference for him over Mr. Hunt or Mr. Gentry is that, up to date, he has a living position in the South, while they have not. He is only better than Winter Davis in that he is farther South. I fear if we could get we could not safely take more than one such man—that is, not more than one who opposed us in the election, the danger being to lose the confidence of our own friends.

Your selection for the State Department having become public, I am happy to find scarcely any objection to it. I shall have trouble with every other Northern cabinet appointment, so much so that I shall have to defer them as long as possible, to avoid being teased to insanity to make changes.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

[Private and Confidential.]

Springfield, Illinois, February 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: On the 21st ult. Hon. W. Kellogg, a Republican member of Congress of this State, whom you probably know, was here in a good deal of anxiety seeking to ascertain to what extent I would be consenting for our friends to go in the way of compromise on the now vexed question. While he was with me I received a despatch from Senator Trumbull, at Washington, alluding to the same question and telling me to await letters. I therefore told Mr. Kellogg that when I should receive these letters posting me as to the state of affairs at Washington, I would write to you, requesting you to

let him see my letter. To my surprise, when the letters mentioned by Judge Trumbull came they made no allusion to the "vexed question." This baffled me so much that I was near not writing you at all, in compliance to what I have said to Judge Kellogg. I say now, however, as I have all the while said, that on the territorial question—that is, the question of extending slavery under the national auspices—I am inflexible. I am for no compromise which assists or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as obnoxious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this, and to put us again on the highroad to a slave empire, is the object of all these proposed compromises. I am against it. As to fugitive slaves, District of Columbia, slave-trade among the slave States, and whatever springs of necessity from the fact that the institution is amongst us, I care but little, so that what is done be comely and not altogether outrageous. Nor do I care much about New Mexico, if further extension were hedged against. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Willard's Hotel,

Washington, March 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

Dear Sir: If a successor to General Twiggs is attempted to be appointed, do not allow it to be done.

Yours in haste,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 4, 1861.

My dear Sir: Your note of the 2d instant, asking to withdraw your acceptance of my invitation to take charge of the State Department, was duly received. It is the subject of the most painful solicitude with me, and I feel constrained to beg that you will countermand the withdrawal. The public interest, I think, demands that you should; and my personal feelings are deeply enlisted in the same direction. Please consider and answer by 9 a. m. to-morrow.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Chamber, March 7, 1861.

My dear Sir: Herewith is the diplomatic address and my reply. To whom the reply should be addressed—that is, by what title or style—I do not quite understand, and therefore I have left it blank.

Will you please bring with you to-day the message from the War Department, with General Scott's note upon it, which we had here yesterday? I wish to examine the general's opinion, which I have not yet done.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 11, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: What think you of sending ministers at once as follows: Dayton to England; Frémont to France; Clay to Spain; Corwin to Mexico?

We need to have these points guarded as

strongly and quickly as possible. This is suggestion merely, and not dictation.

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, March 18, 1861.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: I believe it is a necessity with us to make the appointments I mentioned last night—that is, Charles F. Adams to England. William L. Dayton to France, George P. Marsh to Sardinia, and Anson Burlingame to Austria. These gentlemen all have my highest esteem, but no one of them is originally suggested by me except Mr. Dayton. Mr. Adams I take because you suggested him, coupled with his eminent fitness for the place. Mr. Marsh and Mr. Burlingame I take because of the intense pressure of their respective States, and their fitness also.

The objection to this card is that locally they are so huddled up—three being in New England and two from a single State. I have considered this, and will not shrink from the responsibility. This, being done, leaves but five full missions undisposed of—Rome, China, Brazil, Peru, and Chili. And then what about Carl Schurz; or, in other words, what about our German friends?

Shall we put the card through, and arrange the rest afterward? What say you?

Your obedient servant,
A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum from Secretary Seward.*]

Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration, April
1, 1861.

First. We are at the end of a month's administration,

and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign.

Second. This, however, is not culpable, and it has even been unavoidable. The presence of the Senate, with the need to meet applications for patronage, have prevented attention to other and more grave matters.

Third. But further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for both domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring scandal on the administration, but danger upon the country.

Fourth. To do this we must dismiss the applicants for office. But how? I suggest that we make the local appointments forthwith, leaving foreign or general ones for ulterior and occasional action.

Fifth. The policy at home. I am aware that my views are singular, and perhaps not sufficiently explained. My system is built upon this idea as a ruling one, namely, that we must

CHANGE THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PUBLIC FROM ONE UPON SLAVERY, OR ABOUT SLAVERY, for a question upon UNION OR DISUNION.

In other words, from what would be regarded as a party question, to one of patriotism or union.

The occupation or evacuation of Fort Sumter, although not in fact a slavery or a party question, is so regarded. Witness the temper manifested by the Republicans in the free States, and even by the Union men in the South.

I would therefore terminate it as a safe means for changing the issue. I deem it fortunate that the last administration created the necessity.

For the rest, I would simultaneously defend and reinforce all the ports in the gulf, and have the navy recalled from foreign stations to be prepared for a blockade. Put the island of Key West under martial law.

This will raise distinctly the question of union or disunion. I would maintain every fort and possession in the South.

FOR FOREIGN NATIONS.

I would demand explanations from Spain and France, categorically, at once.

I would seek explanations from Great Britain and Russia, and send agents into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to rouse a vigorous continental spirit of

independence on this continent against European intervention.

And, if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France,

Would convene Congress and declare war against them.

But whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide.

It is not in my especial province;

But I neither seek to evade nor assume responsibility.

[*Reply to Secretary Seward's Memorandum.*]

Executive Mansion, April 1, 1861.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you I have been considering your paper dated this day, and entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration." The first proposition in it is, "*First*, We are at the end of a month's administration, and yet without a policy either domestic or foreign."

At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said: "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." This had your distinct approval at the time; and, taken in connection with the order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to employ every means in his power to strengthen and hold the forts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge, with the single exception that it does not propose to abandon Fort Sumter.

Again, I do not perceive how the reinforcement of Fort Sumter would be done on a slavery or a party issue, while that of Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo certainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign policy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars and instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect harmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign policy.

Upon your closing propositions—that “whatever policy we adopt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it.

“For this purpose it must be somebody’s business to pursue and direct it incessantly.

“Either the President must do it himself, and be all the while active in it, or

“Devolve it on some member of his cabinet. Once adopted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide”—I remark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a general line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no danger of its being changed without good reason, or continuing to be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points arising in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have, the advice of all the cabinet.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 7, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: Mr. James F. B. Marshall, of

Massachusetts, is now with me on the question of the Honolulu commissioner. It pains me some that this tilt for the place of Colonel Baker's friend grows so fierce now the colonel is no longer alive to defend him. I presume, however, we shall have no rest from it. Mr. Marshall appears to be a very intelligent gentleman, and well acquainted with the affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The California delegation also expect the place for some one of their citizens. In self-defense I am disposed to say, "Make a selection and send it to me."

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, June 28, 1862.

Hon. W. H. Seward.

My dear Sir: My view of the present condition of the war is about as follows:

The evacuation of Corinth and our delay by the flood in the Chickahominy have enabled the enemy to concentrate too much force in Richmond for McClellan to successfully attack. In fact there soon will be no substantial rebel force anywhere else. But if we send all the force from here to McClellan, the enemy will, before we can know of it, send a force from Richmond and take Washington. Or if a large part of the western army be brought here to McClellan, they will let us have Richmond, and retake Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, etc. What should be done is to hold what we have in the West, open the Mississippi, and take Chattanooga and East Tennessee without more. A reasonable force should in every event be kept about Washington for its protection. Then let the country give us a hun-

dred thousand new troops in the shortest possible time, which, added to McClellan directly or indirectly, will take Richmond without endangering any other place which we now hold, and will substantially end the war. I expect to maintain this contest until successful, or till I die, or am conquered, or my term expires, or Congress or the country forsake me; and I would publicly appeal to the country for this new force were it not that I fear a general panic and stampede would follow, so hard it is to have a thing understood as it really is. I think the new force should be all, or nearly all, infantry, principally because such can be raised most cheaply and quickly.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 29, 1862. 6 p. m.
Hon. William H. Seward,

Astor House, New York:

Not much more than when you left. Fulton of "Baltimore American" is now with us. He left White House at 11 a. m. yesterday. He conversed fully with a paymaster who was with Porter's force during the fight of Friday and fell back to nearer McClellan's quarters just a little sooner than Porter did, seeing the whole of it; stayed on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy over night, and left for White House at 5 a. m. Saturday. He says Porter retired in perfect order under protection of the guns arranged for the purpose, under orders and not from necessity; and with all other of our forces, except what was left on purpose to go to White House, was safely in pontoons over the Chicka-

hominy before morning, and that there was heavy firing on the Richmond side, begun at five and ceased at 7 a. m. Saturday. On the whole, I think we have had the better of it up to that point of time. What has happened since we still know not, as we have no communication with General McClellan. A despatch from Colonel Ingalls shows that he thinks McClellan is fighting with the enemy at Richmond to-day, and will be to-morrow. We have no means of knowing upon what Colonel Ingalls founds his opinion. All confirmed about saving all property. Not a single unwounded straggler came back to White House from the field, and the number of wounded reaching there up to 11 a. m. Saturday was not large.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, June 30, 1862.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward, New York:

We are yet without communication with General McClellan, and this absence of news is our point of anxiety. Up to the latest point to which we are posted, he effected everything in such exact accordance with his plans, contingently announced to us before the battle began, that we feel justified to hope that he has not failed since. He had a severe engagement in getting the part of his army on this side of the Chickahominy over to the other side, in which the enemy lost certainly as much as we did. We are not dissatisfied with this, only that the loss of enemies does not compensate for the loss of friends. The enemy cannot come below White House; certainly is not there now, and probably has aban-

doned the whole line. Dix's pickets are at New Kent Court House.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, December 20, 1862.

Hon. William H. Seward and Hon. Salmon P. Chase.

Gentlemen: You have respectively tendered me your resignations as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. I am apprised of the circumstances which may render this course personally desirable to each of you; but after most anxious consideration my deliberate judgment is that the public interest does not admit of it. I therefore have to request that you will resume the duties of your departments respectively.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretaries of State and of the Navy.

Gentlemen: It is now a practical question for this government whether a government mail of a neutral power, found on board a vessel captured by a belligerent power, on charge of breach of blockade, shall be forwarded to its designated destination without opening, or shall be placed in custody of the prize court, to be, in the discretion of the court, opened and searched for evidence to be used on the trial of the prize cases.

I will thank each of you to furnish me:

First. A list of all cases wherein such question has been passed upon either by a diplomatic or a judicial decision.

Secondly. All cases wherein mails under such circumstances have been without special decision either forwarded unopened, or detained and opened in search of evidence.

I wish these lists to embrace as well the reported cases in the books generally, as the cases pertaining to the present war in the United States.

Thirdly. A statement and brief argument of what would be the dangers and evils of forwarding such mails unopened.

Fourthly. A statement and brief argument of what would be the dangers and evils of detaining and opening such mails, and using the contents, if pertinent, as evidence.

And, lastly, any general remarks that may occur to you or either of you.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., November 23, 1863.

My dear Sir: Two despatches since I saw you; one not quite so late on firing as we had before, but giving the points that Burnside thinks he can hold the place, that he is not closely invested, and that he forages across the river. The other brings the firing up to 11 a. m. yesterday, being twenty-three hours later than we had before.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 24, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: A despatch from Foster, at Cin-

cinnati, received half an hour ago, contains one from Wilcox at Cumberland Gap, without date, saying: "Fighting going on at Knoxville to-day." The want of date makes the time of fighting uncertain, but I rather think it means yesterday, the 23d.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., November 6, 1864.

Hon. William H. Seward, Auburn, New York:

Nothing of much importance. Day before yesterday rebels destroyed two or more of our wooden gunboats at Johnsonville on Tennessee River. Curtis, on the 4th, was at Fayetteville, Arkansas, still pursuing and damaging Price. Richmond papers say Yankees landed at Escambia Bay, below Hilton, not far from Mobile, captured fifty men and destroyed all camp equipage, wagons, salt works, etc., and everything in and about Hilton. Richmond papers also confirm the destruction of the *Albemarle*, and the consequent evacuation of Plymouth, North Carolina.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, November 8, 1864.

Hon. William H. Seward, Auburn, New York:

News from Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Rosecrans satisfactory, but not important. Pirate *Florida* captured by the *Wachusett* October 7, on the coast of Brazil. The information is certain.

A. Lincoln.

[*Instructions.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 31, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State:

You will proceed to Fortress Monroe, Virginia, there to meet and informally confer with Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell, on the basis of my letter to F. P. Blair, Esq., of January 18, 1865, a copy of which you have. You will make known to them that three things are indispensable—to wit:

1. The restoration of the national authority throughout all the States.

2. No receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in preceding documents.

3. No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government.

You will inform them that all propositions of theirs, not inconsistent with the above, will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything.

Yours, etc.,

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., February 2, 1865.

Hon. William H. Seward, Fortress Monroe, Virginia:

Induced by a despatch of General Grant, I join you at Fort Monroe, as soon as I can come.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 6, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of State.

My dear Sir: I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones, of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little in their profession. Please watch for chances.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

SEYMOUR, HORATIO.
[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 23, 1863.
His Excellency Governor Seymour.

Dear Sir: You and I are substantially strangers, and I write this chiefly that we may become better acquainted. I, for the time being, am at the head of a nation that is in great peril, and you are at the head of the greatest State of that nation. As to maintaining the nation's life and integrity, I assume and believe there cannot be a difference of purpose between you and me. If we should differ as to the means, it is important that such difference should be as small as possible; that it should not be enhanced by unjust suspicions on one side or the other. In the performance of my duty the coöperation of your State, as that of others, is needed—in fact, is indispensable. This alone is a sufficient reason why I should wish to be at a good understanding with you. Please write me at least as long a letter as this, of course saying in it just what you think fit.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, May 12, 1863.
Governor Seymour, Albany, N. Y.:

Dr. Swinburne and Mr. Gillett are here having been refused, as they say, by the War Department, permission to go to the Army of the Potomac. They now appeal to me saying you wish them to go. I suppose they have been excluded by a rule which experience has induced the department to deem proper, still they shall have leave to go, if you say you desire it. Please answer.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Albany, August 1, 1863. Rec'd 2 P. M.
The President of the United States:

I ask that the draft be suspended in this State until I can send you a communication I am preparing.

Horatio Seymour.

Washington, D. C., August 1, 1863. 4 p. m.
His Excellency Governor Seymour, Albany, New York:

By what day may I expect your communication to reach me? Are you anxious about any part except the city and vicinity?

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 7, 1863.
His Excellency Horatio Seymour, Governor of New York:

Your communication of the third instant has been received and attentively considered.

I cannot consent to suspend the draft in New

York, as you request, because, among other reasons, time is too important.

By the figures you send, which I presume are correct, the twelve districts represented fall into two classes of eight and four respectively. The disparity of the quotas for the draft in these two classes is certainly very striking, being the difference between an average of 2200 in one class, and 4864 in the other. Assuming that the districts are equal one to another in entire population, as required by the plan on which they were made, this disparity is such as to require attention. Much of it, however, I suppose will be accounted for by the fact that so many more persons fit for soldiers are in the city than in the country, who have too recently arrived from other parts of the United States and from Europe to be either included in the census of 1860, or to have voted in 1862. Still, making due allowance for this, I am yet unwilling to stand upon it as an entirely sufficient explanation of the great disparity.

I shall direct the draft to proceed in all the districts, drawing, however, at first, from each of the four districts, to wit: the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, only 2200 being the average quota of the other class. After this drawing, these four districts, and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process. Any deficiency which may appear by the new enrolment will be supplied by a special draft for that object, allowing due credit for volunteers who may be obtained from these districts respectively during the interval. And at all points, so far as consistent with prac-

tical convenience, due credits will be given for volunteers; and your excellency shall be notified of the time fixed for commencing a draft in each district.

I do not object to abide a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it, but I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy, who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers, already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. It produces an army with a rapidity not to be matched by our side, if we first waste time to reëxperiment with the volunteer system already deemed by Congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be, inadequate, and then more time to obtain a court decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it, and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical, in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 11, 1863.

His Excellency Horatio Seymour, Governor of
New York:

Yours of the 8th, with Judge-Advocate-General Waterbury's report, was received to-day.

Asking you to remember that I consider time as being very important, both to the general cause of the country and to the soldiers already in the field, I beg to remind you that I waited, at your request, from the 1st till the 6th inst., to receive your communication dated the 3d. In view of its great length, and the known time and apparent care taken in its preparation, I did not doubt that it contained your full case as you desired to present it. It contained figures for twelve districts, omitting the other nineteen, as I supposed, because you found nothing to complain of as to them. I answered accordingly.

In doing so I laid down the principle to which I purpose adhering, which is to proceed with the draft, at the same time employing infallible means to avoid any great wrongs.

[Here follow statistics of the quotas of the various districts.]

No part of my former letter is repudiated by reason of not being restated in this, or for any other cause.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 16, 1863.

Governor Seymour, New York:

Your despatch of this morning is just received, and I fear I do not perfectly understand it.

My view of the principle is that every soldier obtained voluntarily leaves one less to be obtained by draft. The only difficulty is in applying the principle properly. Looking to time, as heretofore, I am unwilling to give up a drafted man now, even for the certainty, much less for the mere chance of getting a volunteer hereafter. Again, after the draft in any district, would it not make trouble to take any drafted man out and put a volunteer in, for how shall it be determined which drafted man is to have the privilege of thus going out, to the exclusion of all the others? And even before the draft in any district the quota must be fixed; and the draft might be postponed indefinitely if every time a volunteer is offered the officers must stop and reconstruct the quota. At least I fear there might be this difficulty; but, at all events, let credits for volunteers be given up to the last moment, which will not produce confusion or delay. That the principle of giving credits for volunteers shall be applied by districts seems fair and proper, though I do not know how far by present statistics it is practicable. When for any cause a fair credit is not given at one time, it should be given as soon thereafter as practicable. My purpose is to be just and fair, and yet to not lose time.

A. Lincoln.

[Aug. 26, 1863. See STANTON, EDWIN M.]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 27, 1863.
His Excellency Horatio Seymour, Governor of
New York:

Yours of the 21st, with exhibits, was received on the 24th.

In the midst of pressing duties I have been unable to answer it sooner. In the mean time the Provost-Marshal-General has had access to yours, and has addressed a communication in relation to it to the Secretary of War, a copy of which communication I herewith inclose to you.

Independently of this, I addressed a letter on the same subject to the Secretary of War, a copy of which I also inclose to you. The Secretary has sent my letter to the Provost-Marshal-General, with direction that he adopt and follow the course therein pointed out. It will, of course, overrule any conflicting view of the Provost-Marshal-General, if there be such.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. I do not mean to say that if the Provost-Marshal-General can find it practicable to give credits by sub-districts, I overrule him in that. On the contrary, I shall be glad of it; but I will not take the risk of over-burdening him by ordering him to do it.

A. L.

[February 27, 1864. See STANTON, EDWIN M.]

War Department,
Washington, July 5, 1864.

His Excellency Horatio Seymour,
Governor of New York, Albany:

The President directs me to inform you that a rebel force, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand men, have invaded the State of Maryland, and have taken Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, and are threatening other points; that the public safety requires him to call upon the State executives for a militia force to repel this invasion. He therefore directs me to call

on you for a militia force of 12,000 men from your State to serve not more than one hundred days, and to request that you will with the utmost despatch forward the troops to Washington by rail or steamboat as may be most expeditious.

Please favor me with an answer at your earliest convenience.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

SHARPE, H. D.

Springfield, Dec. 8, 1858.

H. D. Sharpe, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Your very kind letter of Nov. 9th was duly received. I do not know that you expected or desired an answer; but glancing over the contents of yours again, I am prompted to say that, while I desired the result of the late canvass to have been different, I still regard it as an exceedingly small matter. I think we have fairly entered upon a durable struggle as to whether this nation is to ultimately become all slave or all free, and though I fall early in the contest, it is nothing if I shall have contributed, in the least degree, to the final rightful result.

Respectfully yours,

A. Lincoln.

SHEAHAN, JAMES W.

Springfield, January 24, 1860.

James W. Sheahan, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 21st, requesting copies of my speeches now in progress of publication in Ohio, is received. I have no such copies now at my control, having sent the only set I ever had to Ohio. Mr. George M. Parsons has taken

an active part among those who have the matter in charge in Ohio; and I understand Messrs. Follett, Foster & Co. are to be the publishers. I make no objection to any satisfactory arrangement you may make with Mr. Parsons and the publishers; and if it will facilitate you, you are at liberty to show them this note.

You labor under a mistake somewhat injurious to me, if you suppose I have revised the speeches in any just sense of the word. I only made some small verbal corrections, mostly such as an intelligent reader would make for himself, not feeling justified to do more when republishing the speeches along with those of Senator Douglas, his and mine being mutually answers and replies to one another.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

SHEPLEY, G. F.

[Oct. 14, 1862. See BUTLER, BENJAMIN F.]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 21, 1862.

Hon. G. F. Shepley.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 6th instant to the Secretary of War has been placed in my hands; and I am annoyed to learn from it that at its date nothing had been done about congressional elections. On the 14th of October I addressed a letter to General Butler, yourself, and others, upon this very subject, sending it by Hon. Mr. Boulogny. I now regret the necessity of inferring that you had not seen this letter up to the 6th instant. I inclose you a copy of it, and also a copy of another addressed to yourself this morning upon the same general

subject, and placed in the hands of Dr. Kennedy. I ask attention to both.

I wish elections for congressmen to take place in Louisiana; but I wish it to be a movement of the people of the districts, and not a movement of our military or quasi-military authorities there. I merely wish our authorities to give the people a chance—to protect them against secession interference. Of course the election cannot be according to strict law. By State law there is, I suppose, no election day before January; and the regular election officers will not act in many cases, if in any. These knots must be cut, the main object being to get an expression of the people. If they would fix a day in a way for themselves all the better; but if they stand idle, not seeming to know what to do, do you fix these things for them by proclamation. And do not waste a day about it, but fix the election day early enough, that we can hear the result here by the first of January. Fix a day for an election in all the districts, and have it held in as many places as you can.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 21, 1862.

Hon. G. F. Shepley.

Dear Sir: Dr. Kennedy, bearer of this, has some apprehension that Federal officers not citizens of Louisiana may be set up as candidates for Congress in that State. In my view there could be no possible object in such an election. We do not particularly need members of Congress from there to enable us to get along with

legislation here. What we do want is the conclusive evidence that respectable citizens of Louisiana are willing to be members of Congress and to swear support to the Constitution, and that other respectable citizens there are willing to vote for them and send them. To send a parcel of Northern men here as representatives, elected, as would be understood (and perhaps really so), at the point of the bayonet, would be disgusting and outrageous; and were I a member of Congress here, I would vote against admitting any such man to a seat.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[See BANKS, NATHANIEL P., Aug. 5, 1863; Nov. 5, 1863; Dec. 24, 1863.]

SHERIDAN, PHILIP H.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 20, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan, Winchester, Virginia:

Have just heard of your great victory. God bless you all, officers and men. Strongly inclined to come up and see you.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 22, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan:

With great pleasure I tender to you and your brave army the thanks of the nation, and my own personal admiration and gratitude, for the month's operations in the Shenandoah Valley;

and especially for the splendid work of October 19, 1864.

Your obedient servant,
Abraham Lincoln.

SHERMAN, F. C., AND HAYES, J. S.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, August 27, 1863.

F. C. Sherman, Mayor, J. S. Hayes, Comptroller,
Chicago, Illinois:

Yours of the 24th, in relation to the draft, is received. It seems to me the government here will be overwhelmed if it undertakes to conduct these matters with the authorities of cities and counties. They must be conducted with the governors of States, who will, of course, represent their cities and counties. Meanwhile you need not be uneasy until you again hear from here.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 7, 1863.

Yours of August 29 just received. I suppose it was intended by Congress that this government should execute the act in question without dependence upon any other government, State, city, or county. It is, however, within the range of practical convenience to confer with the governments of States, while it is quite beyond that range to have correspondence on the subject with counties and cities. They are too numerous. As instances, I have corresponded with Governor Seymour, but not with Mayor Opdyke; with Governor Curtin, but not with Mayor Henry.

A. Lincoln.

SHERMAN, T. W.

[See CAMERON, SIMON, Sept. 18, 1861.]

SHERMAN, WILLIAM T.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 4, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Chattanooga, Tennessee:

I have an imploring appeal in behalf of the citizens, who say your Order No. 8 will compel them to go north of Nashville. This is in no sense an order, nor is it even a request that you will do anything which in the least shall be a drawback upon your military operations, but anything you can do consistently with those operations for those suffering people I shall be glad of.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 18, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, Chattahoochee River, Georgia:

I have seen your despatches, objecting to agents of Northern States opening recruiting stations near your camps.

An act of Congress authorizes this, giving the appointment of agents to the States, and not to the executive government. It is not for the War Department or myself to restrain or modify the law in its execution further than actual necessity may require.

To be candid, I was for the passage of the law, not apprehending at the time that it would produce such inconvenience to the armies in the field, as you now cause me to fear. Many of

the States were very anxious for it, and I hoped that, with their State bounties, and active exertions, they would get out substantial additions to our colored forces, which, unlike white recruits, help us where they come from, as well as where they go to. I still hope advantage from the law; and, being a law, it must be treated as such by all of us.

We here will do what we consistently can to save you from difficulties arising out of it.

May I ask therefore that you will give your hearty coöperation?

A. Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., July 26, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, near Atlanta:

I have just seen yours complaining of the appointment of Hovey and Osterhaus. The point you make is unquestionably a good one, and yet, please hear a word from us. My recollection is that both General Grant and yourself recommended both Hovey and Osterhaus for promotion, and these, with other strong recommendations, drew committals from us which we could neither honorably nor safely disregard. We blamed Hovey for coming away in the manner in which he did, but we knew he had apparent reason to feel disappointed and mortified, and we felt that it was not best to crush one who certainly had been a good soldier. As to Osterhaus, we did not know of his leaving, at the time we made the appointment, and do not now know the terms on which he left. Not to have appointed him, as the case appeared to us at the time, would have been almost, if not quite, a violation of our word. The word was given on

what we thought was high merit, and somewhat on his nationality. I beg you to believe we do not act in a spirit of disregarding merit; we expect to await your program for further changes and promotions in your army. My profoundest thanks to you and your whole army for the present campaign so far.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., August 15, 1864.

Major-General Sherman, near Atlanta, Georgia:

If the government should purchase, on its own account, cotton northward of you, and on the line of your communications, would it be an inconvenience to you or detrimental to the military service for it to come to the north on the railroad,?

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 17, 1864. 10 a. m.

Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Georgia:

I feel great interest in the subjects of your despatch mentioning corn and sorghum, and the contemplated visit to you.

A. Lincoln,

President of the United States.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., September 19, 1864.

Major-General Sherman:

The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of October, and the loss of it, to the friends of the government, would go far toward losing

the whole Union cause. The bad effect upon the November election, and especially the giving the State government to those who will oppose the war in every possible way, are too much to risk, if it can possibly be avoided. The draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to lose us the State. Indiana is the only important State, voting in October, whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anything you can safely do to let her soldiers, or any part of them, go home and vote at the State election will be greatly in point. They need not remain for the Presidential election, but may return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, but is merely intended to impress you with the importance, to the army itself, of your doing all you safely can, yourself being the judge of what you can safely do.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., September 27, 1864.
Major-General Sherman, Atlanta, Georgia:

You say Jefferson Davis is on a visit to Hood. I judge that Brown and Stephens are the objects of his visit.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 26, 1864.

My dear General Sherman: Many, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah.

When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast, I was anxious, if not fearful; but feeling that you were the better judge, and

remembering that "nothing risked, nothing gained," I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours; for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce.

And taking the work of General Thomas into the count, as it should be taken, it is indeed a great success. Not only does it afford the obvious and immediate military advantages; but in showing to the world that your army could be divided, putting the stronger part to an important new service, and yet leaving enough to vanquish the old opposing force of the whole,—Hood's army,—it brings those who sat in darkness to see a great light. But what next?

I suppose it will be safe if I leave General Grant and yourself to decide.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army—officers and men.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

SHIELDS, JAMES.

Lost Townships, August 27, 1842.

Dear Mr. Printer: I see you printed that long letter I sent you a spell ago. I'm quite encouraged by it, and can't keep from writing again. I think the printing of my letters will be a good thing all round—it will give me the benefit of being known by the world, and give the world the advantage of knowing what's going on in the Lost Townships, and give your paper respectability besides. So here comes another. Yesterday afternoon I hurried through cleaning up the dinner dishes and stepped over to Neighbor S—— to see if his wife Peggy was as well as

mout be expected, and hear what they called the baby. Well, when I got there and just turned round the corner of his log cabin, there he was, setting on the doorstep and reading a newspaper. "How are you, Jeff?" says I. He sorter started when he heard me, for he hadn't seen me before. "Why," says he, "I'm mad as the devil, Aunt 'Becca!" "What about," says I; "ain't its hair the right color? None of that nonsense, Jeff; there ain't an honester woman in the Lost Townships than"—"Than who?" says he; "what the mischief are you about?" I began to see I was running the wrong trail, and so says I, "Oh! nothing: I guess I was mistaken a little, that's all. But what is it you're mad about?"

"Why," says he, "I've been tugging ever since harvest,—getting out wheat and hauling it to the river to raise State Bank paper enough to pay my tax this year and a little school debt I owe; and now, just as I've got it, here I open this infernal Extra Register, expecting to find it full of 'Glorious Democratic Victories' and 'High Comb'd Cocks,' when, lo and behold! I find a set of fellows calling themselves officers of the State, have forbidden the tax collectors and school commissioners to receive State paper at all; and so here it is dead on my hands. I don't now believe all the plunder I've got will fetch ready cash enough to pay my taxes and that school debt."

I was a good deal thunderstruck myself; for that was the first I had heard of the proclamation, and my old man was pretty much in the same fix with Jeff. We both stood a moment staring at one another without knowing what to say. At last says I, "Mr. S——, let me look

at that paper." He handed it to me, when I read the proclamation over.

"There now," says he, "did you ever see such a piece of impudence and imposition as that?" I saw Jeff was in a good tune for saying some ill-natured things, and so I tho't I would just argue a little on the contrary side, and make him rant a spell if I could. "Why," says I, looking as dignified and thoughtful as I could, "it seems pretty tough, to be sure, to have to raise silver where there's none to be raised; but then, you see, 'there will be danger of loss' if it ain't done." "Loss! damnation!" says he; "I defy Daniel Webster, I defy King Solomon, I defy the world—I defy—I defy—yes, I defy even you, Aunt 'Becca, to show how the people can lose anything by paying their taxes in State paper."

"Well," says I, "you see what the officers of State say about it, and they are a desarnin' set of men. But," says I, "I guess you're mistaken about what the proclamation says. It don't say the people will lose anything by the paper money being taken for taxes. It only says 'there will be danger of loss'; and though it is tolerable plain that the people can't lose by paying their taxes in something they can get easier than silver, instead of having to pay silver; and though it's just as plain that the State can't lose by taking State Bank paper, however low it may be, while she owes the bank more than the whole revenue, and can pay that paper over on her debt, dollar for dollar;—still there is danger of loss to the officers of State; and you know, Jeff, we can't get along without officers of State."

"Damn officers of State!" says he. Says I,

"You know I belong to the meetin', and swearin' hurts my feelings."

"Beg pardon, Aunt 'Becca," says he; "but I do say it's enough to make Dr. Goddard swear, to have tax to pay in silver, for nothing only that Ford may get his two thousand a year, and Shields his twenty-four hundred a year, and Carpenter his sixteen hundred a year, and all without 'danger of loss' by taking it in State paper. Yes, yes; it's plain enough now what these officers of State mean by 'danger of loss.' Wash, I s'pose, actually lost fifteen hundred dollars out of the three thousand that two of these 'officers of State' let him steal from the treasury, by being compelled to take it in State paper. Wonder if we don't have a proclamation before long, commanding us to make up this loss to Wash in silver."

And so he went on till his breath ran out and he had to stop. I couldn't think of anything to say just then, and so I begun to look over the paper again. "Ay! here's another proclamation, or something like it."

"Another?" says Jeff, "one of them same three fellows again. Well, read it, and let's hear what of it."

I read on till I came to where it says, "The object of this measure is to suspend the collection of the revenue for the current year."

"Now stop, now stop!" says he; "that's a lie a'ready and I don't want to hear of it."

"Oh! maybe not," says I.

"I say it—is—a—lie. Suspend the collection, indeed! Will the collectors, that have taken their oaths to make the collection, dare to suspend it? Is there anything in law requiring them

to perjure themselves at the bidding of James Shields?

"Will the greedy gullet of the penitentiary be satisfied with swallowing him instead of all of them, if they should venture to obey him? And would he not discover some 'danger of loss,' and be off about the time it came to taking their places?

"And suppose the people attempt to suspend, by refusing to pay; what then? The collectors would just jerk up their horses and cows, and the like, and sell them to the highest bidder for silver in hand, without valuation or redemption. Why, Shields didn't believe that story himself—it was never meant for the truth. If it was true, why was it not writ till five days after the proclamation? Why didn't Carlin and Carpenter sign it as well as Shields? Answer me that, Aunt 'Becca. I say it's a lie, and not a well told one at that. It grins out like a copper dollar. Shields is a fool as well as a liar. With him truth is out of the question; and as for getting a good, bright, passable lie out of him, you might as well try to strike fire from a cake of tallow. I stick to it, it's all an infernal Whig lie!"

"A Whig lie! Highty tighty!"

"Yes, a Whig lie; and it's just like everything the cursed British Whigs do. First they'll do some devilment and then they'll tell a lie to hide it. And they don't care how plain a lie it is: they think they can cram any sort of a one down the throats of the ignorant Locofocos, as they call the Democrats."

"Why, Jeff, you're crazy; you don't mean to say Shields is a Whig?"

"Yes, I do."

"Why, look here! the proclamation is in your own Democratic paper as you call it."

"I know it; and what of that? They only printed it to let us Democrats see the deviltry the Whigs are at."

"Well, but Shields is the Auditor of this Loco—I mean this Democratic State."

"So he is, and Tyler appointed him to office."

"Tyler appointed him?"

"Yes (if you must chaw it over), Tyler appointed him; or, if it wasn't him, it was old Granny Harrison, and that's all one. I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, there's no mistake about his being a Whig. Why, his very looks show it: if I was deaf and blind, I could tell him by the smell. I seed him when I was down in Springfield last Winter. They had a sort of gatherin' there one night among the grandees, they called a fair. All the gals about town was there, and all the handsome widows and married women, finickin' about trying to look like gals, tied as tight in the middle, and puffed out at both ends, like bundles of fodder that hadn't been stacked yet, but wanted stackin' pretty bad. And then they had tables all around the house kivered over with [] caps and pincushions and ten thousand such little knic-knacks, tryin' to sell 'em to the fellows that were bowin' and scrapin' and kungeerin' about 'em. They wouldn't let no Democrats in, for fear they'd disgust the ladies, or scare the little gals, or dirty the floor. I looked in at the window, and there was the same fellow Shields floatin' about on the air, without heft or earthly substances, just like a lot of cat-fur where cats had been fighting.

"He was paying his money to this one, and that

one, and t'other one, and sufferin' great loss because it wasn't silver instead of State paper; and the sweet distress he seemed to be in,—his very features, in the ecstatic agony of his soul, spoke audibly and distinctly, 'Dear girls, it is distressing, but I cannot marry you all. Too well I know how much you suffer; but do, do remember, it is not my fault that I am so handsome and so interesting.'

"As this last was expressed by a most exquisite contortion of his face, he seized hold of one of their hands, and squeezed, and held on to it about a quarter of an hour. 'Oh, my good fellow!' says I to myself, 'if that was one of our Democratic girls in the Lost Townships, the way you'd get a brass pin let into you would be about up to the head.' He a Democrat! Fiddlesticks! I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, he's a Whig, and no mistake: nobody but a Whig could make such a conceity dunce of himself."

"Well," says I, "maybe he is; but, if he is, I'm mistaken the worst sort. Maybe so, maybe so; but, if I am, I'll suffer by it; I'll be a Democrat if it turns out that Shields is a Whig, considerin' you shall be a Whig if he turns out a Democrat."

"A bargain, by jingoes!" says he; "but how will we find out?"

"Why," says I, "we'll just write and ax the printer."

"Agreed again!" says he; "and by thunder! if it does turn out that Shields is a Democrat, I never will——"

"Jefferson! Jefferson!"

"What do you want, Peggy?"

"Do get through your everlasting clatter some

time, and bring me a gourd of water; the child's been crying for a drink this livelong hour."

"Let it die, then; it may as well die for water as to be taxed to death to fatten officers of State."

Jeff ran off to get the water, though, just like he hadn't been saying spiteful, for he's a real good-hearted fellow, after all, once you get at the foundation of him.

I walked into the house, and, "Why, Peggy," says I, "I declare we like to forgot you altogether."

"Oh, yes," says she, "when a body can't help themselves, everybody soon forgets 'em; but, thank God! by day after tomorrow I shall be well enough to milk the cows, and pen the calves, and wring the contrary ones' tails for 'em, and no thanks to nobody."

"Good evening, Peggy," says I, and so I sloped, for I see she was mad at me for making Jeff neglect her so long.

And now, Mr. Printer, will you be sure to let us know in your next paper whether this Shields is a Whig or a Democrat? I don't care about it for myself, for I know well enough how it is already; but I want to convince Jeff. It may do some good to let him, and others like him, know who and what these officers of State are. It may help to send the present hypocritical set to where they belong, and to fill the places they now disgrace, with men who will do more work for less pay, and take a fewer airs while they are doing it. It ain't sensible to think that the same men who get us into trouble will change their course; and yet it's pretty plain if some change for the better is not made, it's not long

that either Peggy or any of us will have a cow left to milk, or a calf's tail to wring.

Yours truly,
Rebecca.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

A. Lincoln, Esq.: I regret that my absence on public business compelled me to postpone a matter of private consideration a little longer than I could have desired. It will only be necessary, however, to account for it by informing you that I have been to Quincy on business that would not admit of delay. I will now state briefly the reasons of my troubling you with this communication, the disagreeable nature of which I regret, as I had hoped to avoid any difficulty with any one in Springfield while residing there, by endeavoring to conduct myself in such a way amongst both my political friends and opponents as to escape the necessity of any. Whilst thus abstaining from giving provocation, I have become the object of slander, vituperation, and personal abuse, which, were I capable of submitting to, I would prove myself worthy of the whole of it.

In two or three of the last numbers of "The Sangamon Journal," articles of the most personal nature and calculated to degrade me have made their appearance. On inquiring, I was informed by the editor of that paper, through the medium of my friend General Whitesides, that you are the author of those articles. This information satisfies me that I have become by some means or other the object of your secret hostility. I will not take the trouble of inquiring into the reason of all this; but I will take the liberty of requiring a full, positive, and absolute retraction of all offensive allusions used by you in these communications, in relation to my private character and standing as a man, as an apology for the insults conveyed in them.

This may prevent consequences which no one will regret more than myself.

Your obedient servant,
Jas. Shields.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

Jas. Shields, Esq.: Your note of to-day was

handed me by General Whitesides. In that note you say you have been informed, through the medium of the editor of "The Journal," that I am the author of certain articles in that paper which you deem personally abusive of you; and without stopping to inquire whether I really am the author, or to point out what is offensive in them, you demand an unqualified retraction of all that is offensive, and then proceed to hint at consequences.

Now, sir, there is in this so much assumption of facts and so much of menace as to consequences, that I cannot submit to answer that note any further than I have, and to add that the consequences to which I suppose you allude would be matter of as great regret to me as it possibly could to you. Respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

Tremont, September 17, 1842.

A. Lincoln, Esq.: In reply to my note of this date, you intimate that I assume facts and menace consequences, and that you cannot submit to answer it further. As now, sir, you desire it, I will be a little more particular. The editor of "The Sangamon Journal" gave me to understand that you are the author of an article which appeared, I think, in that paper of the 2d September instant, headed "The Lost Townships," and signed Rebecca or 'Becca. I would therefore take the liberty of asking whether you are the author of said article, or any other over the same signature which has appeared in any of the late numbers of that paper. If so, I repeat my request of an absolute retraction of all offensive allusion contained therein in relation to my private character and standing. If you are not the author of any of these articles, your denial will be sufficient. I will say further, it is not my intention to menace, but to do myself justice.

Your obedient servant,

Jas. Shields.

[*Memorandum of Instructions to E. H. Merryman, Lincoln's Second.*]

In case Whitesides shall signify a wish to adjust this affair without further difficulty, let him know that if the present papers be withdrawn, and a note from Mr. Shields asking to know if I am the author of the articles of which he complains, and asking that I shall make him gentlemanly satisfaction if I am the author, and this without menace, or dictation as to what that satisfaction shall be, a pledge is made that the following answer shall be given:

"I did write the 'Lost Townships' letter which appeared in the 'Journal' of the 2d instant, but had no participation in any form in any other article alluding to you. I wrote that wholly for political effect—I had no intention of injuring your personal or private character or standing as a man or a gentleman; and I did not then think, and do not now think, that that article could produce or has produced that effect against you; and had I anticipated such an effect I would have forbore to write it. And I will add that your conduct toward me, so far as I know, had always been gentlemanly; and that I had no personal pique against you, and no cause for any."

If this should be done, I leave it with you to arrange what shall and what shall not be published. If nothing like this is done, the preliminaries of the fight are to be—

First. Weapons: Cavalry broadswords of the largest size, precisely equal in all respects, and such as now used by the cavalry company at Jacksonville.

Second. Position: A plank ten feet long, and

from nine to twelve inches broad, to be firmly fixed on edge, on the ground, as the line between us, which neither is to pass his foot over upon forfeit of his life. Next a line drawn on the ground on either side of said plank and parallel with it, each at the distance of the whole length of the sword and three feet additional from the plank; and the passing of his own such line by either party during the fight shall be deemed a surrender of the contest.

Third. Time: On Thursday evening at five o'clock, if you can get it so; but in no case to be at a greater distance of time than Friday evening at five o'clock.

Fourth. Place: Within three miles of Alton, on the opposite side of the river, the particular spot to be agreed on by you.

Any preliminary details coming within the above rules you are at liberty to make at your discretion; but you are in no case to swerve from these rules, or to pass beyond their limits.

September 19, 1842.

[See also SPEED, JOSHUA F., October, 1842.]

SICKLES, DANIEL E.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, February 15, 1864.

Major-General Sickles:

I wish you to make a tour for me (principally for observation and information) by way of Cairo and New Orleans, and returning by the gulf and ocean.

All military and naval officers are to facilitate you with suitable transportation, and by conferring with you, and imparting, so far as they can, the information herein indicated; but you are

not to command any of them. You will call at Memphis, Helena, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Pensacola, Key West, Charleston Harbor, and such intermediate points as you may think important.

Please ascertain at each place what is being done, if anything, for reconstruction; how the amnesty proclamation works—if at all; what practical hitches, if any, there are about it; whether deserters come in from the enemy, what number has come in at each point since the amnesty, and whether the ratio of their arrival is any greater since than before the amnesty; what deserters report generally, and particularly whether, and to what extent, the amnesty is known within the rebel lines. Also learn what you can as to the colored people; how they get along as soldiers, as laborers in our service, on leased plantations, and as hired laborers with their old masters, if there be such cases. Also learn what you can as to the colored people within the rebel lines. Also get any other information you may consider interesting, and from time to time, send me what you may deem important to be known here at once, and be ready to make a general report on your return.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

SIGEL, FRANZ.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 12, 1862.

Major-General Sigel, Winchester:

Your despatches of yesterday and to-day were received. It cannot be possible that Jackson has

any such reinforcement as thirty or thirty-five thousand.

McClellan telegraphs that two regiments of reinforcements were sent from Richmond to Jackson.

What necessity can there be for General Banks to fall back from Front Royal and his positions until Frémont comes up?

Does it not leave a gap for Jackson to pass through Front Royal as before?

The President directs that your forces and Banks's shall not fall back from Front Royal and their present positions until further developments.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, June 17, 1862.

General Sigel, Winchester:

The forces at Front Royal are there by order of the President.

When he desires their position to be changed, the order will be given by him.

Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

[May 14, 1863. See BRYANT, WILLIAM CULLEN.]

[Aug. 27, 1864. See STANTON, EDWIN M.]

SINGLETON, GENERAL.

[See GRANT, ULYSSES S., Feb. 7, 1865; March 8, 1865.]

SMITH, BENJAMIN G., AND SMITH, FRANK-
LIN W.

[*Order Annulling Sentence.*]

I am unwilling for the sentence to stand, and be executed, to any extent in this case. In the

absence of a more adequate motive than the evidence discloses, I am wholly unable to believe in the existence of criminal or fraudulent intent on the part of men of such well established good character. If the evidence went as far to establish a guilty profit of one or two hundred thousand dollars, as it does of one or two hundred dollars, the case would, on the question of guilt, bear a far different aspect. That on this contract, involving some twelve hundred thousand dollars, the contractors would plan, and attempt to execute a fraud, which, at the most, could profit them only one or two hundred, or even one thousand dollars, is to my mind beyond the power of rational belief. That they did not, in such a case, make far greater gains, proves that they did not, with guilty or fraudulent intent, make [any] at all. The judgment and sentence are disapproved and declared null, and the defendants fully discharged.

A. Lincoln.

March 18, 1865.

SMITH, CALEB B.

Springfield, Ill., May 26, 1860.

Hon. C. B. Smith.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 21st, was duly received; but I have found no time until now, to say a word in the way of answer. I am, indeed, much indebted to Indiana; and, as my home friends tell me, much to you personally. Your saying you no longer consider Ia. a doubtful state is very gratifying. The thing starts well everywhere—too well, I almost fear, to last. But

we are in, and stick or go through, must be the word.

Let me hear from Indiana occasionally.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

SMITH, FRANKLIN W.

[See SMITH, BENJAMIN G.]

SMITH, J. GREGORY.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, February 8, 1865.

His Excellency Governor Smith, of Vermont:

Complaint is made to me by Vermont that the assignment of her quota for the draft on the pending call is intrinsically unjust, and also in bad faith of the government's promise to fairly allow credits for men previously furnished. . . .

The pending call is not for three hundred thousand (300,000) men subject to fair credits, but is for three hundred thousand (300,000) remaining after all fair credits have been deducted, and it is impossible to concede what Vermont asks without coming out short of the three hundred thousand (300,000) men, or making other localities pay for the partiality shown her.

This upon the case stated. If there be different reasons for making an allowance to Vermont, let them be presented and considered.

Yours truly,
Abraham Lincoln.

SMITH, TRUMAN.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, November 10, 1860.

Hon. Truman Smith.

My dear Sir: This is intended as a strictly

private letter to you, and not as an answer to yours brought me by Mr. ——. It is with the most profound appreciation of your motive, and highest respect for your judgment, too, that I feel constrained, for the present at least, to make no declaration for the public.

First. I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print, and open for the inspection of all. To press a repetition of this upon those who have listened, is useless; to press it upon those who have refused to listen, and still refuse, would be wanting in self-respect, and would have an appearance of sycophancy and timidity which would excite the contempt of good men and encourage bad ones to clamor the more loudly.

I am not insensible to any commercial or financial depression that may exist, but nothing is to be gained by fawning around the "respectable scoundrels" who got it up. Let them go to work and repair the mischief of their own making, and then perhaps they will be less greedy to do the like again. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

SMITH, VICTOR.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., May 8, 1863.]

SOMERS, JAMES W.

Springfield, March 17, 1860.

James W. Somers, Esq.

My dear Sir: Reaching home three days ago, I found your letter of February 26th.

Considering your difficulty of hearing, I think you had better settle in Chicago, if, as you say, a good man already in fair practice there will

take you into partnership. If you had not that difficulty, I still should think it an even balance whether you would not better remain in Chicago, with such a chance for a copartnership.

If I went West, I think I would go to Kansas—to Leavenworth or Atchison. Both of them are, and will continue to be, fine growing places.

I believe I have said all I can, and I have said it with the deepest interest for your welfare.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Springfield, June 25, 1858.

James W. Somers, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 22d, inclosing a draft of two hundred dollars, was duly received. I have paid it on the judgment, and herewith you have the receipt. I do not wish to say anything as to who shall be the Republican candidate for the legislature in your district further than that I have full confidence in Dr. Hull. Have you ever got in the way of consulting with McKinley in political matters? He is true as steel, and his judgment is very good. The last I heard from him, he rather thought Weldon, of De Witt, was our best timber for representative, all things considered. But you there must settle it among yourselves. It may well puzzle older heads than yours to understand how, as the Dred Scott decision holds, Congress can authorize a territorial legislature to do everything else, and cannot authorize them to prohibit slavery. That is one of the things the court can decide, but can never give an intelligible reason for.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

SPEARS, GEORGE.

Mr. Spears:

At your request I send you a receipt for the postage on your paper. I am somewhat surprised at your request. I will, however, comply with it. The law requires Newspaper postage to be paid in advance, and now that I have waited a full year you choose to wound my feelings by insinuating that unless you get a receipt I will probably make you pay it again—

Respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

Received of George Spears in full for postage on the "Sangamon Journal" up to the first of July, 1834.

A. Lincoln, P. M.

SPEED, JAMES.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, December 1, 1864.

Hon. James Speed, Louisville, Kentucky:

I appoint you to be Attorney-General. Please come on at once.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, December 29, 1864.

Hon. Attorney-General:

Please give me your opinion, in writing, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law, on application of individuals, to furnish exemplified copies of records, or parts of records, of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department.

Also, whether the Secretary of the Navy, or any of his subordinates, is bound in law to answer to a commission of a State court, directing the taking of his or their testimony as to the contents of records of naval courts-martial on file in the Navy Department.

Abraham Lincoln.

SPEED, JOSHUA F.

Springfield, June 19, 1841.

Dear Speed: We have had the highest state of excitement here for a week past that our community has ever witnessed; and although the public feeling is somewhat allayed, the curious affair which aroused it is very far from being even yet cleared of mystery. It would take a quire of paper to give you anything like a full account of it, and I therefore only propose a brief outline. The chief personages in the drama are Archibald Fisher, supposed to be murdered, and Archibald Trailor, Henry Trailor, and William Trailor, supposed to have murdered him. The three Trailors are brothers: the first, Arch., as you know, lives in town; the second, Henry, in Clary's Grove; and the third, William, in Warren County; and Fisher the supposed murdered, being without a family, had made his home with William. On Saturday evening, being the 29th of May, Fisher and William came to Henry's in a one-horse dearborn, and there stayed over Sunday; and on Monday all three came to Springfield (Henry on horseback), and joined Archibald at Myers's, the Dutch carpenter. That evening at supper Fisher was missing, and so next morning some ineffectual search was made for

him ; and on Tuesday, at one o'clock p. m., William and Henry started home without him. In a day or two Henry and one or two of his Clary-Grove neighbors came back for him again, and advertised his disappearance in the papers. The knowledge of the matter thus far had not been general, and here it dropped entirely, till about the 10th instant, when Keys received a letter from the postmaster in Warren County, that William had arrived at home, and was telling a very mysterious and improbable story about the disappearance of Fisher, which induced the community there to suppose he had been disposed of unfairly. Keys made this letter public, which immediately set the whole town and adjoining county agog. And so it has continued until yesterday. The mass of the people commenced a systematic search for the dead body, while Wickersham was despatched to arrest Henry Trailor at the Grove, and Jim Maxcy to Warren to arrest William. On Monday last, Henry was brought in, and showed an evident inclination to insinuate that he knew Fisher to be dead, and that Arch. and William had killed him. He said he guessed the body could be found in Spring Creek, between the Beardstown road and Hickox's mill. Away the people swept like a herd of buffalo, and cut down Hickox's mill-dam *nolens volens*, to draw the water out of the pond, and then went up and down and down and up the creek, fishing and raking, and raking and ducking, and diving for two days, and, after all, no dead body found.

In the mean time a sort of scuffling-ground had been found in the brush in the angle, or point, where the road leading into the woods past the brewery and the one leading in past the brick-

yard meet. From the scuffle-ground was the sign of something about the size of a man having been dragged to the edge of the thicket, where it joined the track of some small-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse, as shown by the road-tracks. The carriage-track led off toward Spring Creek. Near this drag-trail Dr. Merryman found two hairs, which, after a long scientific examination, he pronounced to be triangular human hair, which term, he says, includes within it the whiskers, the hair growing under the arms and on other parts of the body; and he judged that these two were of the whiskers, because the ends were cut, showing that they had flourished in the neighborhood of the razor's operations. On Thursday last Jim Maxcy brought in William Traylor from Warren. On the same day Arch. was arrested and put in jail. Yesterday (Friday) William was put upon his examining trial before May and Lovely. Archibald and Henry were both present. Lamborn prosecuted, and Logan, Baker, and your humble servant defended. A great many witnesses were introduced and examined, but I shall only mention those whose testimony seemed most important. The first of these was Captain Ransdell. He swore that when William and Henry left Springfield for home on Tuesday before mentioned, they did not take the direct route,—which, you know, leads by the butcher shop,—but that they followed the street north until they got opposite, or nearly opposite, May's new house, after which he could not see them from where he stood; and it was afterward proved that in about an hour after they started, they came into the street by the butcher shop from toward the brick-yard. Dr.

Merryman and others swore to what is stated about the scuffle-ground, drag-trail, whiskers, and carriage-tracks. Henry was then introduced by the prosecution. He swore that when they started for home, they went out north, as Ransdell stated, and turned down west by the brick-yard into the woods, and there met Archibald; that they proceeded a small distance farther, when he was placed as a sentinel to watch for and announce the approach of any one that might happen that way; that William and Arch. took the dearborn out of the road a small distance to the edge of the thicket, where they stopped, and he saw them lift the body of a man into it; that they then moved off with the carriage in the direction of Hickox's mill, and he loitered about for something like an hour, when William returned with the carriage, but without Arch., and said they had put him in a safe place; that they went somehow—he did not know exactly how—into the road close to the brewery, and proceeded on to Clary's Grove. He also stated that some time during the day William told him that he and Arch. had killed Fisher the evening before; that the way they did it was by him (William) knocking him down with a club, and Arch. then choking him to death.

An old man from Warren, called Dr. Gilmore, was then introduced on the part of the defense. He swore that he had known Fisher for several years; that Fisher had resided at his house a long time at each of two different spells—once while he built a barn for him, and once while he was doctored for some chronic disease; that two or three years ago Fisher had a serious hurt in his head by the bursting of a gun, since which

he had been subject to continued bad health and occasional aberration of mind. He also stated that on last Tuesday, being the same day that Maxcy arrested William Trailor, he (the doctor) was from home in the early part of the day, and on his return, about eleven o'clock, found Fisher at his house in bed, and apparently very unwell; that he asked him how he came from Springfield; that Fisher said he had come by Peoria, and also told of several other places he had been at more in the direction of Peoria, which showed that he at the time of speaking did not know where he had been wandering about in a state of derangement. He further stated that in about two hours he received a note from one of Trailor's friends, advising him of his arrest, and requesting him to go on to Springfield as a witness, to testify as to the state of Fisher's health in former times; that he immediately set off, calling up two of his neighbors as company, and, riding all evening and all night, overtook Maxcy and William at Lewiston in Fulton County; that Maxcy refusing to discharge Trailor upon his statement, his two neighbors returned and he came on to Springfield. Some question being made as to whether the doctor's story was not a fabrication, several acquaintances of his (among whom was the same postmaster who wrote Keys, as before mentioned) were introduced as sort of compurgators, who swore that they knew the doctor to be of good character for truth and veracity, and generally of good character in every way. Here the testimony ended, and the Trailors were discharged, Arch. and William expressing both in word and manner their entire confidence that Fisher would

be found alive at the doctor's by Galloway, Mal-lory, and Myers, who a day before had been despatched for that purpose; while Henry still protested that no power on earth could ever show Fisher alive. Thus stands this curious affair. When the doctor's story was first made public, it was amusing to scan and contemplate the countenances and hear the remarks of those who had been actively in search for the dead body: some looked quizzical, some melancholy, and some furiously angry. Porter, who had been very active, swore he always knew the man was not dead, and that he had not stirred an inch to hunt for him; Langford, who had taken the lead in cutting down Hickox's mill-dam, and wanted to hang Hickox for objecting, looked most awfully woebegone: he seemed the "victim of unrequited affection," as represented in the comic almanacs we used to laugh over; and Hart, the little drayman that hauled Molly home once, said it was too *damned* bad to have so much trouble, and no hanging after all.

I commenced this letter on yesterday, since which I received yours of the 13th. I stick to my promise to come to Louisville. . . .

Yours forever,
Lincoln.

January, 1842.

My dear Speed: Feeling, as you know I do, the deepest solicitude for the success of the enterprise you are engaged in, I adopt this as the last method I can adopt to aid you, in case (which God forbid!) you shall need any aid. I do not place what I am going to say on paper because I can say it better that way than I could by

word of mouth, but, were I to say it orally before we part, most likely you would forget it at the very time when it might do you some good. As I think it reasonable that you will feel very badly some time between this and the final consummation of your purpose, it is intended that you shall read this just at such a time. Why I say it is reasonable that you will feel very badly yet, is because of three special causes added to the general one which I shall mention.

The general cause is, that you are naturally of a nervous temperament; and this I say from what I have seen of you personally, and what you have told me concerning your mother at various times, and concerning your brother William at the time his wife died. The first special cause is your exposure to bad weather on your journey, which my experience clearly proves to be very severe on defective nerves. The second is the absence of all business and conversation of friends, which might divert your mind, give it occasional rest from the intensity of thought which will sometimes wear the sweetest idea threadbare and turn it to the bitterness of death. The third is the rapid and near approach of that crisis on which all your thoughts and feelings concentrate.

If from all these causes you shall escape and go through triumphantly, without another "twinge of the soul," I shall be most happily but most egregiously deceived. If, on the contrary, you shall, as I expect you will at some time, be agonized and distressed, let me, who have some reason to speak with judgment on such a subject, beseech you to ascribe it to the causes

I have mentioned, and not to some false and ruinous suggestion of the Devil.

"But," you will say, "do not your causes apply to every one engaged in a like undertaking?" By no means. The particular causes, to a greater or less extent perhaps, do apply in all cases; but the general one,—nervous debility, which is the key and conductor of all the particular ones, and without which they would be utterly harmless,—though it does pertain to you, does not pertain to one in a thousand. It is out of this that the painful difference between you and the mass of the world springs.

I know what the painful point with you is at all times when you are unhappy; it is an apprehension that you do not love her as you should. What nonsense! How came you to court her? Was it because you thought she deserved it, and that you had given her reason to expect it? If it was for that, why did not the same reason make you court Ann Todd, and at least twenty others of whom you can think, and to whom it would apply with greater force than to her? Did you court her for her wealth? Why, you know she had none. But you say you reasoned yourself into it. What do you mean by that? Was it not that you found yourself unable to reason yourself out of it? Did you not think, and partly form the purpose, of courting her the first time you ever saw her or heard of her? What had reason to do with it at that early stage? There was nothing at that time for reason to work upon. Whether she was moral, amiable, sensible, or even of good character, you did not, nor could then know, except,

perhaps, you might infer the last from the company you found her in.

All you then did or could know of her was her personal appearance and deportment; and these, if they impress at all, impress the heart, and not the head.

Say candidly, were not those heavenly black eyes the whole basis of all your early reasoning on the subject? After you and I had once been at the residence, did you not go and take me all the way to Lexington and back, for no other purpose but to get to see her again, on our return on that evening to take a trip for that express object? What earthly consideration would you take to find her scouting and despising you, and giving herself up to another? But of this you have no apprehension; and therefore you cannot bring it home to your feelings.

I shall be so anxious about you that I shall want you to write by every mail.

Your friend,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 3, 1842.

Dear Speed: Your letter of the 25th January came to hand to-day. You well know that I do not feel my own sorrows much more keenly than I do yours, when I know of them; and yet I assure you I was not much hurt by what you wrote me of your excessively bad feeling at the time you wrote. Not that I am less capable of sympathizing with you now than ever, not that I am less your friend than ever, but because I hope and believe that your present anxiety and distress about her health and her life must and will forever banish those horrid doubts which I

know you sometimes felt as to the truth of your affection for her. If they can once and forever be removed (and I almost feel a presentiment that the Almighty has sent your present affliction expressly for that object), surely nothing can come in their stead to fill their immeasurable measure of misery. The death-scenes of those we love are surely painful enough; but these we are prepared for and expect to see: they happen to all, and all know they must happen. Painful as they are, they are not an unlooked-for sorrow. Should she, as you fear, be destined to an early grave, it is indeed a great consolation to know that she is so well prepared to meet it. Her religion, which you once disliked so much, I will venture you now prize most highly. But I hope your melancholy bodings as to her early death are not well founded. I even hope that ere this reaches you she will have returned with improved and still improving health, and that you will have met her, and forgotten the sorrows of the past in the enjoyments of the present. I would say more if I could, but it seems that I have said enough. It really appears to me that you yourself ought to rejoice, and not sorrow, at this indubitable evidence of your undying affection for her. Why, Speed, if you did not love her, although you might not wish her death, you would most certainly be resigned to it. Perhaps this point is no longer a question with you, and my pertinacious dwelling upon it is a rude intrusion upon your feelings. If so, you must pardon me. You know the hell I have suffered on that point, and how tender I am upon it. You know I do not mean wrong. I have been quite clear of "hypo" since you left; even better than

I was along in the fall. I have seen — but once. She seemed very cheerful, and so I said nothing to her about what we spoke of.

Old Uncle Billy Herndon is dead, and it is said this evening that Uncle Ben Ferguson will not live. This, I believe, is all the news, and enough at that unless it were better. Write me immediately on the receipt of this.

Your friend, as ever,
Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 13, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 1st instant came to hand three or four days ago. When this shall reach you, you will have been Fanny's husband several days. You know my desire to befriend you is everlasting; that I will never cease while I know how to do anything. But you will always hereafter be on ground that I have never occupied, and consequently, if advice were needed, I might advise wrong. I do fondly hope, however, that you will never again need any comfort from abroad. But should I be mistaken in this, should excessive pleasure still be accompanied with a painful counterpart at times, still let me urge you, as I have ever done, to remember, in the depth and even agony of despondency, that very shortly you are to feel well again. I am now fully convinced that you love her as ardently as you are capable of loving. Your ever being happy in her presence, and your intense anxiety about her health, if there were nothing else, would place this beyond all dispute in my mind. I incline to think it probable that your nerves will fail you occasionally for a while; but once you get them firmly guarded

now, that trouble is over forever. I think, if I were you, in case my mind were not exactly right, I would avoid being idle. I would immediately engage in some business, or go to making preparations for it, which would be the same thing. If you went through the ceremony calmly, or even with sufficient composure not to excite alarm in any present, you are safe beyond question, and in two or three months, to say the most, will be the happiest of men.

I would desire you to give my particular respects to Fanny; but perhaps you will not wish her to know you have received this, lest she should desire to see it. Make her write me an answer to my last letter to her; at any rate, I would set great value upon a note or letter from her. Write me whenever you have leisure.

Yours forever,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. I have been quite a man since you left.

Springfield, February 25, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 16th instant, announcing that Miss Fanny and you are "no more twain, but one flesh," reached me this morning. I have no way of telling you how much happiness I wish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I feel somewhat jealous of both of you now: you will be so exclusively concerned for one another, that I shall be forgotten entirely. My acquaintance with Miss Fanny (I call her this, lest you should think I am speaking of your mother) was too short for me to reasonably hope to long be remembered by her; and still I am sure I shall not forget her soon.

Try if you cannot remind her of that debt she owes me—and be sure you do not interfere to prevent her paying it.

I regret to learn that you have resolved to not return to Illinois. I shall be very lonesome without you. How miserable things seem to be arranged in this world! If we have no friends, we have no pleasure; and if we have them, we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss. I did hope she and you would make your home here; but I own I have no right to insist. You owe obligations to her ten thousand times more sacred than you can owe to others, and in that light let them be respected and observed. It is natural that she should desire to remain with her relatives and friends. As to friends, however, she could not need them anywhere: she would have them in abundance here.

Give my kind remembrance to Mr. Williamson and his family, particularly Miss Elizabeth; also to your mother, brother, and sisters. Ask little Eliza Davis if she will ride to town with me if I come there again. And finally, give Fanny a double reciprocation of all the love she sent me. Write me often, and believe me

Yours forever,

Lincoln.

P. S. Poor Easthouse is gone at last. He died awhile before day this morning. They say he was very loath to die. . . .

L.

Springfield, February 25, 1842.

Dear Speed: I received yours of the 12th written the day you went down to William's place, some days since, but delayed answering it till

I should receive the promised one of the 16th, which came last night. I opened the letter with intense anxiety and trepidation; so much so, that, although it turned out better than I expected, I have hardly yet, at a distance of ten hours, become calm.

I tell you, Speed, our forebodings (for which you and I are peculiar) are all the worst sort of nonsense. I fancied, from the time I received your letter of Saturday, that the one of Wednesday was never to come, and yet it *did* come, and what is more, it is perfectly clear, both from its tone and handwriting, that you were much happier, or, if you think the term preferable, less miserable, when you wrote it than when you wrote the last one before. You had so obviously improved at the very time I so much fancied you would have grown worse. You say that something indescribably horrible and alarming still haunts you. You will not say that three months from now, I will venture. When your nerves once get steady now, the whole trouble will be over forever. Nor should you become impatient at their being even very slow in becoming steady. Again you say, you much fear that that Elysium of which you have dreamed so much is never to be realized. Well, if it shall not, I dare swear it will not be the fault of her who is now your wife. I now have no doubt that it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize. Far short of your dreams as you may be, no woman could do more to realize them than that same black-eyed Fanny. If you could but contemplate her through my imagination, it would appear ridicu-

lous to you that any one should for a moment think of being unhappy with her. My old father used to have a saying that "If you make a bad bargain, hug it all the tighter"; and it occurs to me that if the bargain you have just closed can possibly be called a bad one, it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to which my fancy can by any effort picture.

I write another letter, inclosing this, which you can show her, if she desires it. I do this because she would think strangely, perhaps, should you tell her that you received no letters from me, or, telling her you do, refuse to let her see them. I close this, entertaining the confident hope that every successive letter I shall have from you (which I here pray may not be few, nor far between) may show you possessing a more steady hand and cheerful heart than the last preceding it.

As ever, your friend,

Lincoln.

Springfield, March 27, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 10th instant was received three or four days since. You know I am sincere when I tell you the pleasure its contents gave me was, and is, inexpressible. As to your farm matter, I have no sympathy with you. I have no farm, nor ever expect to have, and consequently have not studied the subject enough to be much interested with it. I can only say that I am glad you are satisfied and pleased with it. But on that other subject, to me of the most intense interest whether in joy or sorrow, I never had the power to withhold my sympathy from you. It cannot be told how it now thrills

me with joy to hear you say you are "far happier than you ever expected to be." That much I know is enough. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not, at least, sometimes extravagant, and if the reality exceeds them all, I say, Enough, dear Lord. I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since the fatal 1st of January, 1841. Since then it seems to me I should have been entirely happy, but for the never-absent idea that there is one still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That still kills my soul. I cannot but reproach myself for even wishing to be happy while she is otherwise. She accompanied a large party on the railroad cars to Jacksonville last Monday, and on her return spoke, so that I heard of it, of having enjoyed the trip exceedingly. God be praised for that.

You know with what sleepless vigilance I have watched you ever since the commencement of your affair; and although I am almost confident it is useless, I cannot forbear once more to say that I think it is even yet possible for your spirits to flag down and leave you miserable. If they should, don't fail to remember that they cannot long remain so. One thing I can tell you which I know you will be glad to hear, and that is that I have seen ——— and scrutinized her feelings as well as I could, and am fully convinced she is far happier now than she has been for the last fifteen months past.

You will see by the last "Sangamon Journal" that I made a temperance speech on the 22d of February, which I claim that Fanny and you

shall read as an act of charity to me ; for I cannot learn that anybody else has read it, or is likely to. Fortunately it is not very long, and I shall deem it a sufficient compliance with my request if one of you listens while the other reads it.

As to your Lockridge matter, it is only necessary to say that there has been no court since you left, and that the next commences to-morrow morning, during which I suppose we cannot fail to get a judgment.

I wish you would learn of Everett what he would take, over and above a discharge for all the trouble we have been at, to take his business out of our hands and give it to somebody else. It is impossible to collect money on that or any other claim here now ; and although you know I am not a very petulant man, I declare I am almost out of patience with Mr. Everett's importunity. It seems like he not only writes all the letters he can himself, but gets everybody else in Louisville and vicinity to be constantly writing to us about his claim. I have always said that Mr. Everett is a very clever fellow, and I am very sorry he cannot be obliged ; but it does seem to me he ought to know we are interested to collect his claim, and therefore would do it if we could.

I am neither joking nor in a pet when I say we would thank him to transfer his business to some other, without any compensation for what we have done, provided he will see the court cost paid, for which we are security.

The sweet violet you inclosed came safely to hand, but it was so dry, and mashed so flat, that it crumbled to dust at the first attempt to

handle it. The juice that mashed out of it stained a place in the letter, which I mean to preserve and cherish for the sake of her who procured it to be sent. My renewed good wishes to her in particular, and generally to all such of your relations who know me.

Springfield, Illinois, July 4, 1842.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 16th June was received only a day or two since. It was not mailed at Louisville till the 25th. You speak of the great time that has elapsed since I wrote you. Let me explain that. Your letter reached here a day or two after I had started on the circuit. I was gone five or six weeks, so that I got the letters only a few weeks before Butler started to your country. I thought it scarcely worth while to write you the news which he could and would tell you more in detail. On his return he told me you would write me soon, and so I waited for your letter. As to my having been displeased with your advice, surely you know better than that. I know you do, and therefore will not labor to convince you. True, that subject is painful to me; but it is not your silence, or the silence of all the world, that can make me forget it. I acknowledged the correctness of your advice too; but before I resolve to do the one thing or the other, I must gain my confidence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they are made. In that ability you know I once prided myself as the only or chief gem of my character; that gem I lost—how and where you know too well. I have not yet regained it; and until I do, I cannot trust myself in any matter of much importance. I believe now that had you

understood my case at the time as well as I understood yours afterward, by the aid you would have given me I should have sailed through clear, but that does not now afford me sufficient confidence to begin that or the like of that again.

You make a kind acknowledgment of your obligations to me for your present happiness. I am pleased with that acknowledgment. But a thousand times more am I pleased to know that you enjoy a degree of happiness worthy of an acknowledgment. The truth is, I am not sure that there was any merit with me in the part I took in your difficulty; I was drawn to it by a fate. If I would I could not have done less than I did. I always was superstitious; I believe God made me one of the instruments of bringing your Fanny and you together, which union I have no doubt he had fore-ordained. Whatever he designs he will do for me yet. "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord" is my text just now. If, as you say, you have told Fanny all, I should have no objection to her seeing this letter, but for its reference to our friend here: let her seeing it depend upon whether she has ever known anything of my affairs; and if she has not, do not let her.

I do not think I can come to Kentucky this season. I am so poor and make so little headway in the world, that I drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in a year's sowing. I should like to visit you again. I should like to see that "sis" of yours that was absent when I was there, though I suppose she would run away again if she were to hear I was coming.

My respects and esteem to all your friends

there, and, by your permission, my love to your Fanny.

Ever yours,

Lincoln.

Springfield, October, 1842.

Dear Speed: You have heard of my duel with Shields, and I have now to inform you that the dueling business still rages in this city. Day before yesterday Shields challenged Butler, who accepted, and proposed fighting next morning at sunrise in Bob Allen's meadow, one hundred yards' distance, with rifles. To this Whitesides, Shields's second, said "No," because of the law. Thus ended duel No. 2. Yesterday Whitesides chose to consider himself insulted by Dr. Merryman, so sent him a kind of quasi-challenge, inviting him to meet him at the Planter's House in St. Louis on the next Friday to settle their difficulty. Merryman made me his friend, and sent Whitesides a note, inquiring to know if he meant his note as a challenge, and if so, that he would according to the law in such case made and provided, prescribe the terms of the meeting. Whitesides returned for answer that if Merryman would meet him at the Planter's House as desired, he would challenge him. Merryman replied in a note that he denied Whitesides's right to dictate time and place, but that he (Merryman) would waive the question of time, and meet him at Louisiana, Missouri. Upon my presenting this note to Whitesides and stating verbally its contents, he declined receiving it, saying he had business in St. Louis, and it was as near as Louisiana. Merryman then directed me to notify Whitesides that he should publish

the correspondence between them, with such comments as he thought fit. This I did. Thus it stood at bedtime last night. This morning Whitesides, by his friend Shields, is praying for a new trial, on the ground that he was mistaken in Merryman's proposition to meet him at Louisiana, Missouri, thinking it was the State of Louisiana. This Merryman hoots at, and is preparing his publication; while the town is in a ferment, and a street fight somewhat anticipated.

But I began this letter not for what I have been writing, but to say something on that subject which you know to be of such infinite solicitude to me. The immense sufferings you endured from the first days of September till the middle of February you never tried to conceal from me, and I well understood. You have now been the husband of a lovely woman nearly eight months. That you are happier now than the day you married her I well know, for without you could not be living. But I have your word for it, too, and the returning elasticity of spirits which is manifested in your letters. But I want to ask a close question, "Are you now in feeling as well as judgment glad that you are married as you are?" From anybody but me this would be an impudent question, not to be tolerated; but I know you will pardon it in me. Please answer it quickly, as I am impatient to know. I have sent my love to your Fanny so often, I fear she is getting tired of it. However, I venture to tender it again.

Yours forever,

Lincoln.

Springfield, March 24, 1843.

Dear Speed: . . . We had a meeting of the

Whigs of the county here on last Monday to appoint delegates to a district convention; and Baker beat me, and got the delegation instructed to go for him. The meeting, in spite of my attempt to decline it, appointed me one of the delegates; so that in getting Baker the nomination I shall be fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made a groomsman to a man that has cut him out and is marrying his own dear "gal." About the prospects of your having a namesake at our town, can't say exactly yet.

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 18, 1843.

Dear Speed: Yours of the 9th instant is duly received, which I do not meet as a "bore," but as a most welcome visitor. I will answer the business part of it first. . . .

In relation to our Congress matter here, you were right in supposing I would support the nominee. Neither Baker nor I, however, is the man, but Hardin, so far as I can judge from present appearances. We shall have no split or trouble about the matter; all will be harmony. In relation to the "coming events" about which Butler wrote you, I had not heard one word before I got your letter; but I have so much confidence in the judgment of a Butler on such a subject that I incline to think there may be some reality in it. What day does Butler appoint? By the way, how do "events" of the same sort come on in your family? Are you possessing houses and lands, and oxen and asses, and men-servants and maid-servants, and begetting sons and daughters? We are not keeping house, but boarding at the Globe Tavern, which is very well

kept now by a widow lady of the name of Beck. Our room (the same that Dr. Wallace occupied there) and boarding only costs us four dollars a week. Ann Todd was married something more than a year since to a fellow by the name of Campbell, and who, Mary says, is pretty much of a "dunce," though he has a little money and property. They live in Boonville, Missouri, and have not been heard from lately enough for me to say anything about her health. I reckon it will scarcely be in our power to visit Kentucky this year. Besides poverty and the necessity of attending to business, those "coming events," I suspect, would be somewhat in the way. I most heartily wish you and your Fanny would not fail to come. Just let us know the time, and we will have a room provided for you at our house, and all be merry together for a while. Be sure to give my respects to your mother and family; assure her that if ever I come near her, I will not fail to call and see her. Mary joins in sending love to your Fanny and you.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, October 22, 1846.

Dear Speed: . . . You, no doubt, assign the suspension of our correspondence to the true philosophic cause; though it must be confessed by both of us that this is rather a cold reason for allowing a friendship such as ours to die out by degrees. I propose now that, upon receipt of this, you shall be considered in my debt, and under obligations to pay soon, and that neither shall remain long in arrears hereafter. Are you agreed?

Being elected to Congress, though I am very

grateful to our friends for having done it, has not pleased me as much as I expected.

We have another boy, born the 10th of March. He is very much such a child as Bob was at his age, rather of a longer order. Bob is "short and low," and I expect always will be. He talks very plainly,—almost as plainly as anybody. He is quite smart enough. I sometimes fear he is one of the little rare-ripe sort that are smarter at about five than ever after. He has a great deal of that sort of mischief that is the offspring of such animal spirits. Since I began this letter, a messenger came to tell me Bob was lost; but by the time I reached the house his mother had found him and had him whipped, and by now, very likely he is run away again. Mary has read your letter, and wishes to be remembered to Mrs. Speed and you, in which I most sincerely join her.

As ever yours,

A. Lincoln.

February 20, 1849.

My dear Speed: . . . I am flattered to learn that Mr. Crittenden has any recollection of me which is not unfavorable; and for the manifestation of your kindness toward me I sincerely thank you. Still there is nothing about me to authorize me to think of a first-class office, and a second-class one would not compensate my being sneered at by others who want it for themselves. I believe that, so far as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have the General Land Office almost by common consent; but then Sweet and Don Morrison and Browning and Cyrus Edwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I

could easily take it myself, I fear I shall have trouble to get it for any other man in Illinois. The reason is that McGaughey, an Indiana ex-member of Congress, is here after it, and being personally known, he will be hard to beat by any one who is not. . . .

Springfield, August 24, 1855.

Dear Speed: You know what a poor correspondent I am. Ever since I received your very agreeable letter of the 22d of May I have been intending to write you an answer to it. You suggest that in political action, now, you and I would differ. I suppose we would; not quite as much, however, as you may think. You know I dislike slavery, and you fully admit the abstract wrong of it. So far there is no cause of difference. But you say that sooner than yield your legal right to the slave, especially at the bidding of those who are not themselves interested, you would see the Union dissolved. I am not aware that any one is bidding you yield that right; very certainly I am not. I leave that matter entirely to yourself. I also acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil; but I bite my lips and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had together a tedious low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Louis. You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville to the mouth of the Ohio there were on board ten or a dozen slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a continued torment to me, and I see something like it every time I touch the

Ohio or any other slave border. It is not fair for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much the great body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union. I do oppose the extension of slavery because my judgment and feeling so prompt me, and I am under no obligations to the contrary. If for this you and I must differ, differ we must. You say, if you were President, you would send an army and hang the leaders of the Missouri outrages upon the Kansas elections; still, if Kansas fairly votes herself a slave State she must be admitted, or the Union must be dissolved. But how if she votes herself a slave State unfairly, that is, by the very means for which you say you would hang men? Must she still be admitted, or the Union dissolved? That will be the phase of the question when it first becomes a practical one. In your assumption that there may be a fair decision of the slavery question in Kansas, I plainly see you and I would differ about the Nebraska law. I look upon that enactment not as a law, but as a violence from the beginning. It was conceived in violence, is maintained in violence, and is being executed in violence. I say it was conceived in violence, because the destruction of the Missouri Compromise, under the circumstances, was nothing less than violence. It was passed in violence, because it could not have passed at all but for the votes of many members in violence of the known will of their constituents. It is maintained in violence, because the elections since

clearly demand its repeal; and the demand is openly disregarded.

You say men ought to be hung for the way they are executing the law; I say the way it is being executed is quite as good as any of its antecedents. It is being executed in the precise way which was intended from the first, else why does no Nebraska man express astonishment or condemnation? Poor Reeder is the only public man who has been silly enough to believe that anything like fairness was ever intended, and he has been bravely undeceived.

That Kansas will form a slave constitution, and with it will ask to be admitted into the Union, I take to be already a settled question, and so settled by the very means you so pointedly condemn. By every principle of law ever held by any court North or South, every negro taken to Kansas is free; yet, in utter disregard of this,—in the spirit of violence merely,—that beautiful legislature gravely passes a law to hang any man who shall venture to inform a negro of his legal rights. This is the subject and real object of the law. If, like Haman, they should hang upon the gallows of their own building, I shall not be among the mourners for their fate. In my humble sphere, I shall advocate the restoration of the Missouri Compromise so long as Kansas remains a Territory, and when, by all these foul means, it seeks to come into the Union as a slave State, I shall oppose it. I am very loath in any case to withhold my assent to the enjoyment of property acquired or located in good faith; but I do not admit that good faith in taking a negro to Kansas to be held in slavery is a probability with any man. Any man who has sense enough to

be the controller of his own property has too much sense to misunderstand the outrageous character of the whole Nebraska business. But I digress. In my opposition to the admission of Kansas I shall have some company, but we may be beaten. If we are, I shall not on that account attempt to dissolve the Union. I think it probable, however, we shall be beaten. Standing as a unit among yourselves, you can, directly and indirectly, bribe enough of our men to carry the day, as you could on the open proposition to establish a monarchy. Get hold of some man in the North whose position and ability is such that he can make the support of your measure, whatever it may be, a Democratic party necessity, and the thing is done. Apropos of this, let me tell you an anecdote. Douglas introduced the Nebraska bill in January. In February afterward there was a called session of the Illinois legislature. Of the one hundred members composing the two branches of that body, about seventy were Democrats. These latter held a caucus, in which the Nebraska bill was talked of, if not formally discussed. It was thereby discovered that just three, and no more, were in favor of the measure. In a day or two Douglas's orders came on to have resolutions passed approving the bill; and they were passed by large majorities!!! The truth of this is vouched for by a bolting Democratic member. The masses, too, Democratic as well as Whig, were even nearer unanimous against it; but, as soon as the party necessity of supporting it became apparent, the way the Democrats began to see the wisdom and justice of it was perfectly astonishing.

You say that if Kansas fairly votes herself a

free State, as a Christian you will rejoice at it. All decent slaveholders talk that way, and I do not doubt their candor. But they never vote that way. Although in a private letter or conversation you will express your preference that Kansas shall be free, you would vote for no man for Congress who would say the same thing publicly. No such man could be elected from any district in a slave State. You think Stringfellow and company ought to be hung; and yet at the next presidential election you will vote for the exact type and representative of Stringfellow. The slave-breeders and slave-traders are a small, odious, and detested class among you; and yet in politics they dictate the course of all of you, and are as completely your masters as you are the master of your own negroes. You inquire where I now stand. That is a disputed point. I think I am a Whig; but others say there are no Whigs, and that I am an Abolitionist. When I was at Washington, I voted for the Wilmot proviso as good as forty times; and I never heard of any one attempting to unwhig me for that. I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except negroes." When the Know-nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where

they make no pretense of loving liberty,—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Mary will probably pass a day or two in Louisville in October. My kindest regards to Mrs. Speed. On the leading subject of this letter, I have more of her sympathy than I have of yours; and yet let me say I am

Your friend forever,

A. Lincoln.

SPEED, MRS. JOSHUA F.

Washington, D. C., September 16, 1863.

Mrs. J. F. Speed, Louisville, Ky.:

Mr. Holman will not be jostled from his place with my knowledge and consent.

A. Lincoln.

SPEED, MISS MARY.

Bloomington, Ill., September 27, 1841.

Miss Mary Speed, Louisville, Ky.

My Friend: Having resolved to write to some of your mother's family, and not having the express permission of any one of them to do so, I have had some little difficulty in determining on which to inflict the task of reading what I now feel must be a most dull and silly letter; but when I remembered that you and I were something of cronies while I was at Farmington, and that while there I was under the necessity of shutting you up in a room to prevent your committing an assault and battery upon me, I instantly decided that you should be the devoted one. I assume that you have not heard from Joshua and myself since we left, because I think it doubtful

whether he has written. You remember there was some uneasiness about Joshua's health when we left. That little indisposition of his turned out to be nothing serious, and it was pretty nearly forgotten when we reached Springfield. We got on board the steamboat *Lebanon* in the locks of the canal, about twelve o'clock m. of the day we left, and reached St. Louis the next Monday at 8 p. m. Nothing of interest happened during the passage, except the vexatious delays occasioned by the sand-bars be thought interesting. By the way, a fine example was presented on board the boat for contemplating the effect of condition upon human happiness. A gentleman had purchased twelve negroes in different parts of Kentucky, and was taking them to a farm in the South. They were chained six and six together. A small iron clevis was around the left wrist of each, and this fastened to the main chain by a shorter one, at a convenient distance from the others, so that the negroes were strung together precisely like so many fish upon a trot-line. In this condition they were being separated forever from the scenes of their childhood, their friends, their fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and many of them from their wives and children, and going into perpetual slavery, where the lash of the master is proverbially more ruthless and unrelenting than any other where; and yet amid all these distressing circumstances, as we would think them, they were the most cheerful and apparently happy creatures on board. One whose offense for which he had been sold was an over-fondness for his wife, played the fiddle almost continually, and the others danced, sang, cracked jokes, and played

various games with cards from day to day. How true it is that "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," or in other words, that he renders the worst of human conditions tolerable, while he permits the best to be nothing better than tolerable. To return to the narrative. When we reached Springfield, I stayed but one day, when I started on this tedious circuit where I now am. Do you remember my going to the city, while I was in Kentucky, to have a tooth extracted, and making a failure of it? Well, that same old tooth got to paining me so much that about a week since I had it torn out, bringing with it a bit of the jaw-bone, the consequence of which is that my mouth is now so sore that I can neither talk nor eat.

I am literally "subsisting on savory remembrances"—that is, being unable to eat, I am living upon the remembrance of the delicious dishes of peaches and cream we used to have at your house. When we left, Miss Fanny Henning was owing you a visit, as I understood. Has she paid it yet? If she has, are you not convinced that she is one of the sweetest girls in the world? There is but one thing about her, so far as I could perceive, that I would have otherwise than as it is—that is, something of a tendency to melancholy. This, let it be observed, is a misfortune, not a fault.

Give her an assurance of my very highest regard when you see her. Is little Siss Eliza Davis at your house yet? If she is, kiss her "o'er and o'er again" for me.

Tell your mother that I have not got her "present" [*an "Oxford" Bible*] with me, but I intend to read it regularly when I return home. I doubt

not that it is really, as she says, the best cure for the blues, could one but take it according to the truth. Give my respects to all your sisters (including Aunt Emma) and brothers. Tell Mrs. Peay, of whose happy face I shall long retain a pleasant remembrance, that I have been trying to think of a name for her homestead, but as yet cannot satisfy myself with one. I shall be very happy to receive a line from you soon after you receive this, and in case you choose to favor me with one, address it to Charleston, Coles County, Ill., as I shall be there about the time to receive it.

Your sincere friend,

A. Lincoln.

SPEER, WILLIAM S.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, October 23, 1860.

William S. Speer, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was duly received. I appreciate your motive when you suggest the propriety of my writing for the public something disclaiming all intention to interfere with slaves or slavery in the States; but in my judgment it would do no good. I have already done this many, many times; and it is in print, and open to all who will read. Those who will not read or heed what I have already publicly said would not read or heed a repetition of it. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

SPRING, SYDNEY.

Springfield, June 19, 1858.

Sydney Spring, Esq., Grayville, Ill.

My dear Sir: Your letter introducing Mr. Faree was duly received. There was no opening to nominate him for Superintendent of Public Instruction, but through him, Egypt made a most valuable contribution to the convention. I think it may be fairly said that he came off the lion of the day—or rather of the night. Can you not elect him to the Legislature? It seems to me he would be hard to beat. What objection could be made to him? What is your Senator Martin saying and doing? What is Webb about?

Please write me.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

STAFFORD, E.

Springfield, Illinois, March 17, 1860.

E. Stafford, Esq.

Dear Sir: Reaching home on the 14th instant, I found yours of the 1st. Thanking you very sincerely for your kind purposes toward me, I am compelled to say the money part of the arrangement you propose is, with me, an impossibility. I could not raise ten thousand dollars if it would save me from the fate of John Brown. Nor have my friends, so far as I know, yet reached the point of staking any money on my chances of success. I wish I could tell you better things, but it is even so.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

STAGER, ANSON.

War Department, Washington, D. C.,

May 24, 1863—10.40 p. m.

Anson Stager, Cleveland, Ohio:

Late last night Fuller telegraphed you, as you say, that "the stars and stripes float over Vicksburg and the victory is complete." Did he know what he said, or did he say it without knowing it? Your despatch of this afternoon throws doubt upon it.

A. Lincoln.

STANLEY, EDWARD.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 29, 1862.

Hon. Edward Stanley.

My dear Sir: Your note, informing me that you will leave for North Carolina soon, is received. Your conduct as military governor of that State, as reported to me by General Burnside, and as I have heard it personally from yourself, has my entire approbation; and it is with great satisfaction that I learn you are now to return in the same capacity, with the approbation of the War Department.

I shall be much gratified if you can find it practicable to have congressional elections held in that State before January. It is my sincere wish that North Carolina may again govern herself conformably to the Constitution of the United States.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

STANTON, EDWIN M.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 22, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: On reflection I think it will not do, as a rule, for the adjutant-general to attend me wherever I go: not that I have any objection to his presence, but that it would be an uncompensating encumbrance both to him and me. When it shall occur to me to go anywhere, I wish to be free to go at once, and not to have to notify the adjutant-general and wait till he can get ready.

It is better, too, for the public service that he shall give his time to the business of his office, and not to personal attendance on me.

While I thank you for the kindness of the suggestion, my view of the matter is as I have stated.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 31, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the "Lane Expedition" shall be, as much as has been promised at the adjutant-general's office, under the supervision of General McClellan, and not any more. I have not intended, and do not now intend, that it shall be a great, exhausting affair, but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000. General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement

between him and me, when I appointed him, that he was to be under Hunter.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 15, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: It is represented to me that Messrs. Hedden and Hoey had a contract with the government, closed on the 26th of October last, to deliver fifty thousand arms by the 15th of the then next January—that within the time they delivered twenty-eight thousand, which were accepted and paid for; that not on time, but ten days after time, they were ready and offered to deliver the remaining twenty-two thousand, which were refused simply on the question of time.

If this statement be true and these men acted in good faith, I think they should not be ruined by the transaction, but that the guns should be accepted and paid for. Of course, I understand the principle of strict law would not oblige the government to take them, even if it were an individual.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion, April 3, 1862.

The Secretary of War will order that one or the other of the corps of General McDowell and General Sumner remain in front of Washington until further orders from the department, to operate at or in the direction of Manassas Junction, or otherwise, as occasion may require; that the other corps not so ordered to remain go forward

to General McClellan as speedily as possible ; that General McClellan commence his forward movements from his new base at once, and that such incidental modifications as the foregoing may render proper be also made.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 22, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir : I think it will be better to do nothing now which can be construed into a demand for troops in addition to the three hundred thousand for which we have recently called. We do not need more, nor, indeed, so many, if we could have the smaller number very soon. It is a very important consideration, too, that one recruited into an old regiment is nearly or quite equal in value to two in a new one. We can scarcely afford to forego any plan within our power which may facilitate the filling of the old regiments with recruits. If, on consideration, you are of opinion that this object can be advanced by causing the militia of the several States to be enrolled, and by drafts therefrom, you are at liberty to take the proper steps and do so, provided that any number of recruits so obtained from any State within the next three months shall, if practicable, be an abatement of the quota of volunteers from such State under the recent call.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 12, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War :

Mrs. Baird tells me that she is a widow ; that

her two sons and only support joined the army, where one of them still is; that her other son, Isaac P. Baird, is a private in the Seventy-second Pennsylvania Volunteers—Baxter's Fire Zouaves, Company K; that he is now under guard with his regiment on a charge of desertion; that he was under arrest for desertion, so that he could not take the benefit of returning under the proclamation on that subject. Please have it ascertained if this is correct, and if it is, let him be discharged from arrest and go to duty. I think, too, he should have his pay for duty actually performed. Loss of pay falls so hard upon poor families.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, September 4, 1862.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: There are special reasons, as I suppose, why James Bowen of New York should be appointed a brigadier-general. Please hear the particulars from Governor Seward.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 1, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: Yesterday a piteous appeal was made to me by an old lady of genteel appearance, saying she had, with what she thought sufficient assurance that she would not be disturbed by the government, fitted up the two south divisions of the old "Duff Green" building in order to take

boarders, and has boarders already in it, and others, including members of Congress, engaged; and that now she is ordered to be out of it by Saturday, the 3d instant; and that independently of the ruin it brings on her by her lost outlay, she neither has nor can find another shelter for her own head. I know nothing about it myself, but promised to bring it to your notice.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 23, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: I think General Butler should go to New Orleans again. He is unwilling to go unless he is restored to the command of the department. He should start by the first of February, and should take some force with him. The whole must be so managed as to not wrong or wound the feelings of General Banks. His original wish was to go to Texas; and it must be arranged for him to do this now with a substantial force; and yet he must not go to the endangering the opening of the Mississippi. I hope this may be done by the time General Butler shall arrive there; but whether or not, I think we cannot longer dispense with General Butler's services.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 11, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: I have again concluded to relieve General Curtis. I see no other way to avoid

the worst consequences there. I think of General Schofield as his successor, but I do not wish to take the matter of a successor out of the hands of yourself and General Halleck.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, May 13, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Since parting with you I have seen the Secretaries of State and the Treasury, and they both think we better not issue the special suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* spoken of. Governor Chase thinks the case is not before Judge Swaim; that it is before Judge Leavitt; that the writ will probably not issue whichever the applications may be before; and that in no event will Swaim commit an imprudence. His chief reason for thinking the writ will not issue is that he has seen in a newspaper that Judge Leavitt stated that Judge Swaim and he refused a similar application last year.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,

Washington City, May 16, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: The commander of the Department at St. Louis has ordered several persons south of our military lines, which order is not disapproved by me. Yet at the special request of Hon. James Guthrie I have consented to one of the number, Samuel Churchill, remaining at Louisville, Ky., upon condition of his taking the

oath of allegiance and Mr. Guthrie's word of honor for his good behavior.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 4, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I have received additional despatches, which, with former ones, induce me to believe we should revoke or suspend the order suspending the Chicago "Times"; and if you concur in opinion, please have it done.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 22, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Do you not remember the French officer Colonel Duffie, whom we saw at General McDowell's headquarters near Fredericksburg, last May a year ago? I remember he was then well spoken of. On the night of the 17th instant he was surrounded by Stuart's cavalry near Millersburg, and cut his way out with proportionately heavy loss to his then small command. Please see and hear him. I think you have strong recommendations on file in his behalf.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I desire that a renewed and vigorous effort be made to raise colored forces along

the shores of the Mississippi. Please consult the general-in-chief, and if it is perceived that any acceleration of the matter can be effected, let it be done. I think the evidence is nearly conclusive that General Thomas is one of the best (if not the very best) instruments for this service.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 28, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: A young son of Senator Brown of Mississippi, not yet twenty, as I understand, was wounded and made a prisoner at Gettysburg. His mother is sister of Mrs. P. R. Fendall, of this city. Mr. Fendall, on behalf of himself and family, asks that he and they may have charge of the boy to cure him up, being responsible for his person and good behavior. Would it not be rather a grateful and graceful thing to let them have him?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 29, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Can we not renew the effort to organize a force to go to Western Texas?

Please consult with the general-in-chief on the subject.

If the governor of New Jersey shall furnish any new regiments, might not they be put into such an expedition? Please think of it.

I believe no local object is now more desirable.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 10, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: I have not heard of any charges being filed against General J. A. McClernand. Are there any?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Secretary of War: Please give General Logan the extended leave asked for, unless you know a good reason to the contrary.

A. Lincoln.

August 11, 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: In the autumn of 1861, certain persons in armed rebellion against the United States, within the counties of Accomac and Northampton, laid down their arms upon certain terms then proposed to them by General Dix, in and by a certain proclamation. It is now said that these persons, or some of them, are about to be forced into the military lines of the existing rebellion, unless they will take an oath prescribed to them since, and not included in General Dix's proclamation referred to. Now, my judgment is that no one of these men should be forced from his home, who has not broken faith with the government, according to the terms fixed by General Dix and these men.

It is bad faith in the government to force new

terms upon such as have kept faith with it—as least so it seems to me.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., August 26, 1863.
Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: In my correspondence with Governor Seymour in relation to the draft, I have said to him, substantially, that credits shall be given for volunteers up to the latest moment, before drawing in any district, that can be done without producing confusion or delay. In order to do this, let our mustering officers in New York and elsewhere be at once instructed that whenever they muster into our service any number of volunteers, to at once make return to the War Department, both by telegraph and mail, the date of the muster, the number mustered, and the Congressional or enrolment district or districts, of their residences, giving the numbers separately for each district. Keep these returns diligently posted, and by them give full credit on the quotas, if possible, on the last day before the draft begins in any district.

Again, I have informed Governor Seymour that he shall be notified of the time when the draft is to commence in each district in his State. This is equally proper for all the States. In order to carry it out, I propose that so soon as the day for commencing the draft in any district is definitely determined, the governor of the State, including the district, be notified thereof, both by telegraph and mail, in form about as follows:

[Here follows blank form.]

This notice may be given by the Provost-Mar-

shal-General here, the sub-provost-marshal-generals in the States, or perhaps by the district provost-marshals.

Whenever we shall have so far proceeded in New York as to make the reënrolment specially promised there, practicable, I wish that also to go forward, and I wish Governor Seymour notified of it; so that if he choose, he can place agents of his with ours to see the work fairly done.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, September 1, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I am now informed, contrary to my impression when I last talked with you, that the order compelling the four hundred on the eastern shore of Virginia to take the oath or be sent away is about being carried into execution. As this, and also the assessment for damage done to and at the lighthouse, are very strong measures, and as I have to bear the responsibility of them, I wish them suspended until I can at least be better satisfied of their propriety than I am now.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington, September 6, 1863. 6 p. m.
Hon. Secretary of War, Bedford, Pennsylvania:
Burnside has Kingston and Knoxville, and drove the enemy across the river at Loudon, the enemy destroying the bridge there; captured some stores and one or two trains; very little fighting;

few wounded and none killed. No other news of consequence.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, November 11, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: I personally wish Jacob Freese, of New Jersey, to be appointed colonel for a colored regiment, and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Cæsar's hair.

Yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

War Department,
Washington City, November 17, 1863.

Mr. President: It is proposed by the Baltimore and Ohio road—

First, To leave Washington Thursday morning at 6 a. m.; and

Second, To leave Baltimore at 8 a. m., arriving at Gettysburg at 12 noon, thus giving two hours to view the ground before the dedication ceremonies commence.

Third, To leave Gettysburg at 6 p. m., and arrive at Washington, midnight; thus doing all in one day.

Mr. Smith says the Northern Central road agrees to this arrangement.

Please consider it, and if any change is desired, let me know, so that it can be made.

Yours truly,

Edwin M. Stanton.

[Indorsement.]

I do not like this arrangement. I do not wish to so go that by the slightest accident we fail

entirely, and, at the best, the whole be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet. But, any way.
A. Lincoln.

November 17, 1863.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 18, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I believe General Schofield must be relieved from command of the department of Missouri; otherwise a question of veracity, in relation to his declarations as to his interfering, or not, with the Missouri legislature, will be made with him, which will create an additional amount of trouble, not to be overcome by even a correct decision of the question. The question itself must be avoided. Now for the mode. Senator Henderson, his friend, thinks he can be induced to ask to be relieved, if he shall understand he will be generously treated; and, on this latter point, Gratz Brown will help his nomination as a major-general through the Senate. In no other way can he be confirmed; and upon his rejection alone it would be difficult for me to sustain him as commander of the department. Besides, his being relieved from command of the department, and at the same time confirmed as a major-general, will be the means of Henderson and Brown leading off together as friends, and will go far to heal the Missouri difficulty. Another point. I find it is scarcely less than indispensable for me to do something for General Rosecrans; and I find Henderson and Brown will agree to him for the commander of their department.

Again, I have received such evidence and ex-

planations, in regard to the supposed cotton transactions of General Curtis, as fully restore in my mind the fair presumption of his innocence; and, as he is my friend, and what is more, as I think, the country's friend, I would be glad to relieve him from the impression that I think him dishonest by giving him a command. Most of the Iowa and Kansas delegations, a large part of that of Missouri, and the delegates from Nebraska and Colorado, ask this in behalf of General C., and suggest Kansas and other contiguous territory west of Missouri as a department for him. In a purely military point of view it may be that none of these things are indispensable, or perhaps advantageous; but in another aspect, scarcely less important, they would give great relief; while, at the worst, I think they could not injure the military service much. I therefore shall be greatly obliged if yourself and General Halleck can give me your hearty coöperation in making the arrangement. Perhaps the first thing would be to send General Schofield's nomination to me. Let me hear from you before you take any actual step in the matter.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., December 21, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: Sending a note to the Secretary of the Navy, as I promised, he called over and said that the strikes in the ship-yards had thrown the completion of vessels back so much that he thought General Gillmore's proposition en-

tirely proper. He only wishes (and in which I concur) that General Gillmore will courteously confer with, and explain to, Admiral Dahlgren.

In regard to the Western matter, I believe the program will have to stand substantially as I first put it. Henderson, and especially Brown, believe that the social influence of St. Louis would inevitably tell injuriously upon General Pope in the particular difficulty existing there, and I think there is some force in that view.

As to retaining General Schofield temporarily, if this should be done, I believe I should scarcely be able to get his nomination through the Senate. Send me over his nomination, which, however, I am not quite ready to send to the Senate.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 31, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Please fix up the department to which Curtis is to go, without waiting to wind up the Missouri matter. Lane is very anxious to have Fort Smith in it, and I am willing, unless there be decided military reasons to the contrary, in which case of course, I am not for it. It will oblige me to have the Curtis department fixed at once.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
February 1, 1864.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

Sir: You are directed to have a transport

(either a steam or sailing vessel, as may be deemed proper by the Quartermaster-General) sent to the colored colony established by the United States at the Island of Vache, on the coast of San Domingo, to bring back to this country such of the colonists there as desire to return. You will have the transport furnished with suitable supplies for that purpose, and detail an officer of the Quartermaster's department, who, under special instructions to be given, shall have charge of the business. The colonists will be brought to Washington unless otherwise hereafter directed, and be employed and provided for at the camps for colored persons around that city.

Those only will be brought from the island who desire to return, and their effects will be brought with them.

Abraham Lincoln.

[*Indorsement.*]

Submitted to the Secretary of War. On principle I dislike an oath which requires a man to swear he has not done wrong. It rejects the Christian principle of forgiveness on terms of repentance. I think it is enough if the man does no wrong hereafter.

A. Lincoln.

February 5, 1864.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 11, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: In January, 1863, the Provost-Marshal at St. Louis, having taken the control of a certain church from one set of men and given

it to another, I wrote General Curtis on the subject as follows:

"The United States Government must not, as by this order, undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but the churches, as such, must take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches."

Some trouble remaining in this same case, I, on the twenty-second of December, 1863, in a letter to Mr. O. D. Filley, repeated the above language, and among other things added:

"I have never interfered nor thought of interfering as to who shall or shall not preach in any church; nor have I knowingly or believingly tolerated any one else to so interfere by my authority. If any one is so interfering by color of my authority, I would like to have it specifically made known to me. . . . I will not have control of any church on any side."

After having made these declarations in good faith, and in writing, you can conceive of my embarrassment at now having brought to me what purports to be a formal order of the War Department, bearing date November 30, 1863, giving Bishop Ames control and possession of all the Methodist churches in certain Southern military departments, whose pastors have not been appointed by a loyal bishop or bishops, and ordering the military to aid him against any resistance which may be made to his taking such possession and control. What is to be done about it?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 27, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: You ask some instructions from me in relation to the Report of Special Commission constituted by an order of the War Department, dated December 5, 1863, "to revise the enrolment and quotas of the City and State of New York, and report whether there be any, and what, errors or irregularities therein, and what corrections, if any, should be made."

In the correspondence between the governor of New York and myself last summer, I understood him to complain that the enrolments in several of the districts of that State had been neither accurately nor honestly made; and in view of this, I, for the draft then immediately ensuing, ordered an arbitrary reduction of the quotas in several of the districts wherein they seemed too large, and said: "After this drawing, these four districts and also the seventeenth and twenty-ninth, shall be carefully reënrolled, and, if you please, agents of yours may witness every step of the process." In a subsequent letter I believe some additional districts were put on the list of those to be reënrolled. My idea was to do the work over according to the law, in presence of the complaining party, and thereby to correct anything which might be found amiss. The commission, whose work I am considering, seem to have proceeded upon a totally different idea. Not going forth to find men at all, they have proceeded altogether upon paper examinations and mental processes. One of their conclusions, as I understand, is that, as the law stands, and attempting to follow it, the enrolling officers could

not have made the enrolments much more accurately than they did. The report on this point might be useful to Congress. The commission conclude that the quotas for the draft should be based upon entire population, and they proceed upon this basis to give a table for the State of New York, in which some districts are reduced and some increased. For the now ensuing draft, let the quotas stand as made by the enrolling officers, in the districts wherein this table requires them to be increased; and let them be reduced according to the table in the others: this to be no precedent for the subsequent action. But, as I think this report may, on full consideration, be shown to have much that is valuable in it, I suggest that such consideration be given it, and that it be especially considered whether its suggestions can be conformed to without an alteration of the law.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 1, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the army, that for some offense has been sentenced to serve a long time without pay, or at most with very little pay. I do not like this punishment of withholding pay—it falls so very hard upon poor families. After he had been serving in this way for several months, at the tearful appeal of the poor mother, I made a direction that he be allowed to enlist for a new term, on the same conditions as others.

She now comes and says she cannot get it acted upon. Please do it.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Memorandum.*]

I think the Absterdam projectile is too good a thing to be lost to the service, and if offered at the Hotchkiss prices, and not in excessive quantities, nor unreasonable terms in other respects, by either or both parties to the patent controversy, take it, so that the test be fully made. I am for the government having the best articles in spite of patent controversies.

A. Lincoln.

March 10, 1864.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I am so pressed in regard to prisoners of war in our custody, whose homes are within our lines, and who wish to not be exchanged, but to take the oath and be discharged, that I hope you will pardon me for again calling up the subject. My impression is that we will not ever force the exchange of any of this class; that, taking the oath and being discharged, none of them will again go to the rebellion; but the rebellion again coming to them, a considerable percentage of them, probably not a majority, would rejoin it; that, by a cautious discrimination, the number so discharged would not be large enough to do any considerable mischief in any event, will relieve distress in at least some meritorious cases, and would give me some relief from an

intolerable pressure. I shall be glad, therefore, to have your cheerful assent to the discharge of those whose names I may send, which I will only do with circumspection. . . .

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 28, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: The governor of Kentucky is here, and desires to have the following points definitely fixed:

First. That the quotas of troops furnished, and to be furnished, by Kentucky may be adjusted upon the basis as actually reduced by able-bodied men of hers having gone into the rebel service; and that she be required to furnish no more than her just quotas upon fair adjustment upon such basis.

Second. To whatever extent the enlistment and drafting, one or both, of colored troops may be found necessary within the State, it may be conducted within the law of Congress; and, so far as practicable, free from collateral embarrassments, disorders, and provocations.

I think these requests of the governor are reasonable; and I shall be obliged if you will give him a full hearing, and do the best you can to effect these objects.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 14, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Your note of to-day inclosing General

Halleck's letter of yesterday relative to offensive remarks supposed to have been made by the Postmaster-General concerning the military officers on duty about Washington is received. The general's letter in substance demands of me that if I approve the remarks I shall strike the names of those officers from the rolls; and that if I do not approve them the Postmaster-General shall be dismissed from the Cabinet.

Whether the remarks were really made I do not know, nor do I suppose such knowledge is necessary to a correct response. If they were made, I do not approve them; and yet, under the circumstances, I would not dismiss a member of the Cabinet therefor. I do not consider what may have been hastily said in a moment of vexation at so severe a loss is sufficient ground for so grave a step. Besides this, truth is generally the best vindication against slander. I propose continuing to be myself the judge as to when a member of the Cabinet shall be dismissed.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 11, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I should be glad for General Mott of New Jersey to have a brevet major-generalship. He has done a great deal of hard service, has been twice (I believe) wounded, and is now, by assignment of his superiors, commanding a division. Add to this that I have been for a year trying to find an opportunity to promote him, as you know.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 22, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I very much wish to oblige Henry Ward Beecher by releasing Howard; but I wish you to be satisfied when it is done. What say you?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

I have no objection if you think it right—and this a proper time.

E. M. S.

Let Howard, imprisoned in regard to the bogus proclamation, be discharged.

A. Lincoln.

August 23, 1864.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 27, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: If General Sigel has asked for an inquiry, let him have it, if there is not some insurmountable, or at least, very serious obstacle. He is fairly entitled to this consideration.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, October 31, 1864.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Sir: Herewith is a letter of Governor Curtin, which speaks for itself. I suggest for your consideration, whether, to the extent of, say, 5000, we might not exempt from the draft, upon the men being put in good shape to defend and give assurance to the border. I have not said even

this much to the bearer, General Todd, whom I hope you will see and hear.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 19, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of War.

Dear Sir: You remember that from time to time appeals have been made to us by persons claiming to have attempted to come through our lines with their effects to take the benefit of the amnesty proclamation, and to have been despoiled of their effects under General Butler's administration. Some of these claims have color of merit, and may be really meritorious. Please consider whether we cannot set on foot an investigation which may advance justice in the premises.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia,
March 25, 1865. 8.30 a. m.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Arrived here all safe about 9 p. m. yesterday. No war news. General Grant does not seem to know very much about Yeatman, but thinks very well of him so far as he does know.

I like Mr. Whiting very much, and hence would wish him to remain or resign as best suits himself. Hearing this much from me, do as you think best in the matter. General Lee has sent the Russell letter back, concluding, as I under-

stand from Grant, that their dignity does not admit of their receiving the document from us. Robert just now tells me there was a little rum-pus up the line this morning, ending about where it began.

A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., March 26, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of War:

I approve your Fort Sumter programme. Grant don't seem to know Yeatman very well, but thinks very well of him so far as he knows. Thinks it probable that Y. is here now, for the place. I told you this yesterday as well as that you should do as you think best about Mr. Whiting's resignation, but I suppose you did not receive the despatch. I am on the boat and have no later war news than went to you last night.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

City Point, Virginia,

March 27, 1865. 3.35 p. m.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Yours inclosing Fort Sumter order received. I think of but one suggestion. I feel quite confident that Sumter fell on the 13th, and not on the 14th of April, as you have it. It fell on Saturday, the 13th; the first call for troops on our part was got up on Sunday, the 14th, and given date and issued on Monday, the 15th. Look up the old almanac and other data, and see if I am not right.

A. Lincoln.

[Telegram.]

City Point, Virginia,

March 28, 1865. 12 m.

Hon. Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

After your explanation, I think it is little or no difference whether the Fort Sumter ceremony takes place on the 13th or 14th.

General Sherman tells me that he is well acquainted with James Yeatman, and that he thinks him almost the best man in the country for anything he will undertake.

A. Lincoln.

City Point, Va., March 30, 1865. 7.30 p. m.

Hon. Secretary of War:

I begin to feel that I ought to be at home and yet I dislike to leave without seeing nearer to the end of General Grant's present movement. He has now been out since yesterday morning and although he has not yet been diverted from his programme no considerable effort has yet been produced so far as we know here. Last night at 10.15 p. m. when it was dark as a rainy night without a moon could be, a furious cannonade soon joined in by a heavy musketry fire opened near Petersburg and lasted about two hours. The sound was very distinct here as also were the flashes of the guns upon the clouds. It seemed to me a great battle, but the older hands here scarcely noticed it and sure enough this morning it was found that very little had been done.

A. Lincoln.

[*Cipher Telegram.*]

City Point, Va., April 3, 1865. 5 p. m.

Hon. Edwin M. Stanton,

Secretary of War:

Yours received. Thanks for your caution, but I have already been to Petersburg, stayed with General Grant an hour and a half and returned here. It is certain now that Richmond is in our hands, and I think I will go there to-morrow. I will take care of myself.

A. Lincoln.

STEELE, FREDERICK.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 5, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

I wish to afford the people of Arkansas an opportunity of taking the oath prescribed in the proclamation of December 8, 1863, preparatory to reorganizing a State government there.

[*Here follow detailed instructions.*]

Report to me on the subject.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

January 20, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

Sundry citizens of the State of Arkansas petition me that an election may be held in that State, at which to elect a governor thereof; . . . that it be assumed at said election and thenceforward that the constitution and laws of the State, as before the rebellion, are in full force, except that the constitution is so modified as to declare that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of

crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; but the General Assembly may make such provision for the freed people as shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class"; and also except that all now existing laws in relation to slaves are inoperative and void.

[Here follow detailed instructions for conducting the election.]

A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 27, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

I have addressed a letter to you, and put it in the hands of Mr. Gantt and other Arkansas gentlemen, containing a program for an election in that State. This letter will be handed you by some of these gentlemen. Since writing it, I see that a convention in Arkansas having the same general object, has taken some action, which I am afraid may clash somewhat with my program. I therefore can do no better than to ask you to see Mr. Gantt immediately on his return, and with him do what you and he may deem necessary to harmonize the two plans into one, and then put it through with all possible vigor. Be sure to retain the free-State constitutional provision in some unquestionable form, and you and he can fix the rest. The points I have made in the program have been well considered. Take hold with an honest heart and a strong hand. Do not let any questionable man control or influence you.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 30, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

Since writing mine of the 27th, seeing still further accounts of the action of the convention in Arkansas, induces me to write you yet again. They seem to be doing so well, that possibly the best you can do would be to help them on their own plan; but of this you must confer with them and be the judge. Of all things, avoid, if possible, a dividing into cliques among the friends of the common object. Be firm and resolute against such as you can perceive would make confusion and division. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 17, 1864.

Major-General Steele, Little Rock, Ark.:

The day fixed by the convention for the election is probably the best, but you on the ground, and in consultation with gentlemen there, are to decide. I should have fixed no day for an election, presented no plan for reconstruction, had I known the convention was doing the same things. It is probably best that you merely assist the convention on their own plan, as to election day and all other matters. I have already written and telegraphed this half a dozen times.

A. Lincoln.

[See also FISHBACK, W. M.]

War Department,
Washington, February 25, 1864.

Major-General Steele,

Little Rock, Arkansas:

General Sickles is not going to Arkansas. He

probably will make a tour down the Mississippi and home by the gulf and ocean, but he will not meddle in your affairs.

At one time I did intend to have him call on you and explain more fully than I could do by letter or telegraph, so as to avoid a difficulty coming of my having made a plan here, while the convention made one there, for reorganizing Arkansas; but even his doing that has been given up for more than two weeks. Please show this to Governor Murphy to save me telegraphing him.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 29, 1864.

Major-General Steele:

I understand that Congress declines to admit to seats the persons sent as senators and representatives from Arkansas. These persons apprehend that, in consequence, you may not support the new State government there as you otherwise would. My wish is that you give that government and the people there the same support and protection that you would if the members had been admitted, because in no event, nor in any view of the case, can this do any harm, while it will be the best you can do toward suppressing the rebellion.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

STELLWAGEN, HENRY S.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives:
I transmit to Congress a copy of a note of the

4th instant, addressed by J. Hume Burnley, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's chargé d'affaires, to the Secretary of State, relative to a sword which it is proposed to present to Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, commanding the United States frigate *Constellation*, as a mark of gratitude for his services to the British brigantine *Mersey*. The expediency of sanctioning the acceptance of the gift is submitted to your consideration.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, February 8, 1865.

STEPHENS, ALEXANDER H.

[See HERNDON, WILLIAM H., Feb. 2, 1848.]

Springfield, Illinois, November 30, 1860.
Hon. Alexander H. Stephens.

My dear Sir: I have read in the newspapers your speech recently delivered (I think) before the Georgia legislature, or its assembled members. If you have revised it, as is probable, I shall be much obliged if you will send me a copy.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*For your own eye only.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 22, 1860.
Hon. Alexander H. Stephens.

My dear Sir: Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with the

slaves, or with them about the slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears. The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended, while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That, I suppose, is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, February 10, 1865.

Hon. A. H. Stephens:

According to our agreement, your nephew, Lieutenant Stephens, goes to you bearing this note. Please, in return, to select and send to me that officer of the same rank imprisoned at Richmond, whose physical condition most urgently requires his release.

Respectfully,
A. Lincoln.

STEPHENS, JOHN A.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., February 4, 1865.

Officer in command at Johnson's Island, Ohio: Parole Lieutenant John A. Stephens, prisoner of war, to report to me here in person, and send him to me. It is in pursuance of an arrangement I made yesterday with his uncle, Hon. A. H. Stephens. Acknowledge receipt.

A. Lincoln.

STONE, CHARLES P.

[*Message to the Senate.*]

To the Senate of the United States: In answer to the resolution of the Senate [*of April 22*] in relation to Brigadier-General Stone, I have the honor to state that he was arrested and imprisoned under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he be guilty or innocent, required, as appears to me, such proceedings to be had against him for the public safety. I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to General Stone, to make a more particular statement of the evidence.

He has not been tried because, in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court martial and for witnesses could not be withdrawn from duty without serious injury to the service. He will be allowed a trial without any unnecessary delay; the charges and specifications will be furnished him in due season, and every facility for his defense will be afforded him by the War Department.

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, May 1, 1862.

STONE, WILLIAM M.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, November 29, 1864.

Governor of Iowa, Des Moines: May I renew my request for the exact aggregate vote of your State, cast at the late election? My object fails if I do not receive it before Congress meets.

A. Lincoln.

Same to the Governors of Michigan, Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Kansas, and West Virginia.

STRINGHAM, SILAS H.

[See LARDNER, JOHN L.]

STUART, JOHN T.

Vandalia, February 14, 1839.

Dear Stuart: I have a note in bank which falls due some time between the 20th and last of this month. Butler stands as principal, and I as security; but I am in reality the principal. It will take between fifty and fifty-five dollars to renew it. Butler has more than that much money in his hands which he collected on a debt of mine since I came away. I wish you to call at the bank, have a note filled over my name signed below, get Butler to sign it, and also to let you have the money to renew it. Ewing won't do anything. He is not worth a damn.

Your friend,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, November 14, 1839.

Dear Stuart: I have been to the secretary's office within the last hour, and find things precisely as you left them. No new arrivals of returns on either side. Douglas has not been here since you left. A report is in circulation here now that he has abandoned the idea of going to Washington, though the report does not come in a very authentic form, so far as I can learn. Though, by the way, speaking of authen-

ticity, you know that if we had heard Douglas say that he had abandoned the contest, it would not be very authentic. There is no news here. Noah, I still think, will be elected very easily. I am afraid of our race for representative. Dr. Knapp has become a candidate, and I fear the few votes he will get will be taken from us. Also some one has been tampering with old Esquire Wicoff, and induced him to send in his name to be announced as a candidate. Francis refused to announce him without seeing him, and now I suppose there is to be a fuss about it. I have been so busy that I have not seen Mrs. Stuart since you left, though I understand she wrote you by to-day's mail, which will inform you more about her than I could. The very moment a Speaker is elected, write me who he is.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 23, 1839.

Dear Stuart: Dr. Henry will write you all the political news. I write this about some little matters of business. You recollect you told me you had drawn the Chicago Masack money, and sent it to the claimants. A — hawk-billed Yankee is here besetting me at every turn I take, saying that Robert Kinzie never received the eighty dollars to which he was entitled. Can you tell anything about the matter? Again, old Mr. Wright, who lives up South Fork somewhere, is teasing me continually about some deeds which he says he left with you, but which I can find nothing of. Can you tell where they are? The legislature is in session, and has suffered the bank to forfeit its charter without benefit of

clergy. There seems to be little disposition to resuscitate it.

Whenever a letter comes from you to Mrs. —, I carry it to her, and then I see Betty; she is a tolerable nice "fellow" now. Maybe I will write again when I get more time.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

P. S. The Democratic giant is here, but he is not now worth talking about.

A. L.

[*Unsigned.*]

Springfield, January 1, 1840.

Dear Stuart: There is considerable disposition, on the part of both parties in the legislature, to reinstate the law bringing on the congressional elections next summer. What motive for this the Locos have, I cannot tell. The Whigs say that the canal and other public works will stop, and consequently we shall then be clear of the foreign votes, whereas by another year they may be brought in again. The Whigs of our district say that everything is in favor of holding the election next summer, except the fact of your absence, and several of them have requested me to ask your opinion on the matter. Write me immediately what you think of it.

On the other side of this sheet I send you a copy of my Land Resolutions, which passed both branches of our legislature last winter. Will you show them to Mr. Calhoun, informing him of the fact of their passage through our legislature? Mr. Calhoun suggested a similar proposition last winter; and perhaps if he finds himself backed by one of the States, he may

be induced to take it up again. You will see by the resolutions that you and the others of our delegation in Congress are instructed to go for them.

Springfield, January 20, 1840.

Dear Stuart: Yours of the 5th instant is received. It is the first from you for a great while. You wish the news from here. The legislature is in session yet, but has done nothing of importance. The following is my guess as to what will be done. The internal improvement system will be put down in a lump without benefit of clergy. The bank will be resuscitated with some trifling modifications. Whether the canal will go ahead or stop is very doubtful. Whether the State House will go ahead depends upon the laws already in force. A proposition made in the House to-day, to throw off to the Territory of Wisconsin about fourteen of our northern counties, decided: ayes, eleven; noes, seventy. Be sure to send me as many copies of the "Life of Harrison" as you can spare from other uses. Be very sure to procure and send me the "Senate Journal" of New York of September, 1814. I have a newspaper article which says that that document proves that Van Buren voted against raising troops in the last war. And, in general, send me everything you think will be a good "war-club."

The nomination of Harrison takes first-rate. You know I am never sanguine; but I believe we will carry the State. The chance for doing so appears to me twenty-five per cent. better than it did for you to beat Douglas. A great many of the grocery sort of Van Buren men, as for-

merly, are out for Harrison. Our Irish blacksmith, Gregory, is for Harrison. I believe I may say that all our friends think the chance of carrying the State very good. You have heard that the Whigs and Locos had a political discussion shortly after the meeting of the legislature. Well, I made a big speech which is in progress of printing in pamphlet form. To enlighten you and the rest of the world, I shall send you a copy when it is finished. I can't think of anything else now.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, January 21, 1840.

Dear Stuart: A bill bringing on the congressional elections in this State next summer has passed the House of Representatives this minute. As I think it will also pass the Senate, I take the earliest moment to advise you of it. I do not think any one of our political friends wishes to push you off the track. Anticipating the introduction of this bill, I wrote you for your feelings on the subject several weeks since, but have received no answer. It may be that my letter miscarried; if so, will you, on the receipt of this, write me what you think and feel about the matter? Nothing new except I believe I have got our Truett debt secured. I have Truett's note at twelve months, with his brother Myers as security.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, March 1, 1840.

Dear Stuart: I have never seen the prospects of our party so bright in these parts as they

are now. We shall carry this county by a larger majority than we did in 1836, when you ran against May. I do not think my prospects individually are very flattering, for I think it probable I shall not be permitted to be a candidate; but the party ticket will succeed triumphantly. Subscriptions to the "Old Soldier" pour in without abatement. This morning I took from the post-office a letter from Dubois inclosing the names of sixty subscribers; and on carrying it to Francis, I found he had received one hundred and forty more from other quarters by the same day's mail. That is but an average specimen of every day's receipts. Yesterday Douglas, having chosen to consider himself insulted by something in the "Journal," undertook to cane Francis in the street. Francis caught him by the hair and jammed him back against a market-cart, where the matter ended by Francis being pulled away from him. The whole affair was so ludicrous that Francis and everybody else (Douglas excepted) have been laughing about it ever since.

I send you the names of some of the Van Buren men who have come out for Harrison about town, and suggest that you send them some documents. . . .

Speed says he wrote you what Jo. Smith said about you as he passed here. We will procure the names of some of his people here and send them to you before long. Speed also says you must not fail to send us the New York journal he wrote for some time since. Even Butler is jealous that you never send your compliments to him. You must not neglect him next time.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, March 26, 1840.

Dear Stuart: . . .

We have had a convention for nominating candidates in this county. Baker was put on the track for the Senate, and Bradford, Brown of the Island Grove, Josiah Francis, Darneille, and I for the House. Ninian was very much hurt at not being nominated, but he has become tolerably well reconciled. I was much, very much, wounded myself at his being left out. The fact is, the country delegates made the nominations as they pleased; and they pleased to make them all from the country, except Baker and me, whom they supposed necessary to make stump speeches. Old Colonel Elkin is nominated for sheriff. That's right.

The Locos have no candidates on the track yet except Dick Taylor for the Senate. Last Saturday he made a speech, and May answered him. The way May let the wind out of him was a perfect wonder. The court-room was very full, and neither you nor I ever saw a crowd in this county so near all on one side, and all feeling so good, before. You will see a short account of it in the "Journal."

A. Lincoln.

Japh Bell has come out for Harrison. Ain't that a caution?

Springfield, December 17, 1840.

Dear Stuart: McRoberts was elected senator yesterday. The vote stood: McRoberts, seventy-seven; Cyrus Edwards, fifty; E. D. Baker, one; absent, three. This affair of appointment to office is very annoying—more so to you than to me, doubtless. I am, as you know, opposed to

removals to make places for our friends. Bearing this in mind, I express my preference in a few cases, as follows: For marshal, first, John Dawson; second, Dr. B. F. Edwards. For postmaster here, Dr. Henry; Carlinville, Joseph C. Howell. There is no question of the propriety of removing the postmaster at Carlinville. I have been told by so many different persons as to preclude all doubt of its truth, that he boldly refused to deliver from his office during the canvass all documents franked by Whig members of Congress.

Yours,

Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, January 23, 1841.

Dear Stuart: Yours of the 3d instant is received, and I proceed to answer it as well as I can, though from the deplorable state of my mind at this time, I fear I shall give you but little satisfaction. About the matter of the congressional election, I can only tell you that there is a bill now before the Senate adopting the general ticket system; but whether the party have fully determined on its adoption is yet uncertain. There is no sign of opposition to you among our friends, and none that I can learn among our enemies; though of course there will be if the general ticket be adopted. The "Chicago American," "Peoria Register," and "Sangamon Journal" have already hoisted your flag upon their own responsibility, and the other Whig papers of the district are expected to follow immediately. On last evening there was a meeting of our friends at Butler's, and I submitted the question to them, and found them unanimously in favor

of having you announced as a candidate. A few of us this morning, however, concluded that as you were already being announced in the papers, we would delay announcing you, as by your own authority, for a week or two. We thought that to appear too keen about it might spur our opponents on about their general ticket project. Upon the whole, I think I may say with certainty that your reelection is sure, if it be in the power of the Whigs to make it so.

For not giving you a general summary of news, you must pardon me; it is not in my power to do so. I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on the earth. Whether I shall ever be better, I cannot tell; I awfully forebode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible; I must die or be better, it appears to me. The matter you speak of on my account you may attend to as you say, unless you shall hear of my condition forbidding it. I say this because I fear I shall be unable to attend to any business here, and a change of scene might help me. If I could be myself, I would rather remain at home with Judge Logan. I can write no more.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, March 30, 1861.

Dear Stuart: Cousin Lizzie shows me your letter of the 27th. The question of giving her the Springfield post-office troubles me. You see I have already appointed William Jayne a territorial governor and Judge Trumbull's brother to a land-office—Will it do for me to go on and

justify the declaration that Trumbull and I have divided out all the offices among our relatives? Dr. Wallace you know, is needy, and looks to me; and I personally owe him much.—

I see by the papers, a vote is to be taken as to the post-office. Could you not set up Lizzie and beat them all? She, being here, need know nothing of it, so therefore there would be no indelicacy on her part.—

Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

SUMNER, CHARLES.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 1, 1863.

Hon. Charles Sumner.

My dear Sir: In relation to the matter spoken of Saturday morning and this morning—to wit, the raising of colored troops in the North, with the understanding that they shall be commanded by General Frémont—I have to say:

That while it is very objectionable, as a general rule, to have troops raised on any special terms, such as to serve only under a particular commander or only at a particular place or places, yet I would forego the objection in this case upon a fair prospect that a large force of this sort could thereby be the more rapidly raised.

That being raised, say to the number of ten thousand, I would very cheerfully send them to the field under General Frémont, assigning him a department, made or to be made, with such white force also as I might be able to put in.

That with the best wishes toward General Frémont, I cannot now give him a department, be-

cause I have not spare troops to furnish a new department, and I have not, as I think, justifiable ground to relieve the present commander of any old one. In the raising of the colored troops, the same consent of governors would have to be obtained as in case of white troops, and the government would make the same provision for them during organization as for white troops.

It would not be a point with me whether General Frémont should take charge of the organization, or take charge of the force only after the organization.

If you think fit to communicate this to General Frémont, you are at liberty to do so.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

SUMNER, E. V.

[See BURNSIDE, AMBROSE E., Jan. 25, 1863.]

SWANN, THOMAS.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., October 27, 1863.

Hon. Thomas Swann.

Dear Sir: Your letter, a copy of which is on the other half of this sheet, is received. I trust there is no just ground for the suspicion you mention; and I am somewhat mortified that there could be any doubt of my views upon the point of your inquiry. I wish all loyal qualified voters in Maryland and elsewhere to have the undisturbed privilege of voting at elections; and

neither my authority nor my name can be properly used to the contrary.

Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln.

Publish both letters, if either. A. L.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 10, 1864. 9.20 a. m.

Thomas Swann and Others, Baltimore, Maryland:

Yours of last night received. I have not a single soldier but whom is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. They cannot fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked. A. Lincoln.

SWETT, LEONARD.

[*Cipher Telegram.*]

War Department,

Washington City, July 15, 1863.

Hon. L. Swett, San Francisco, Cal.:

Many persons are telegraphing me from California, begging me for the peace of the State to suspend the military enforcement of the writ of possession in the Almedan case, while you are the single one who urges the contrary. You know I would like to oblige you, but it seems to me my duty in this case is the other way.

A. Lincoln.

SYMPSON, ALEXANDER.

Blandinsville, Oct. 26, 1858.

A. Sympson, Esq., Lewistown, Ill.

Dear Sir: Since parting with you this morn-

ing I heard some things which make me believe that Edmunds and Morrill will spend this week among the National Democrats trying to induce them to content themselves by voting for Jake Davis, and then to vote for the Douglas candidates for Senator and Representative. Have this headed off, if you can. Call Wagley's attention to it, and have him and the National Democrat for Rep. to counteract it as far as they can.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Dec. 12, 1858.

Alexander Sympson, Esq.

My dear Sir: I expect the result of the election went hard with you. So it did with me, too, perhaps not quite so hard as you may have supposed. I have an abiding faith that we shall beat them in the long run. Step by step the objects of the leaders will become too plain for the people to stand them. I write merely to let you know that I am neither dead nor dying. Please give my respects to your good family, and all inquiring friends.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

TALCOTT, WASHINGTON.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, August 27, 1862.

Hon. Washington Talcott.

My dear Sir: I have determined to appoint you collector. I now have a very special request to make of you, which is, that you will make no war upon Mr. Washburne, who is also my

friend, and of longer standing than yourself. I will even be obliged if you can do something for him if occasion presents.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

[Note of Introduction.]

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will please see Mr. Talcott, one of the best men there is, and, if any difference, one they would like better than they do me.

August 18, 1862.

A. Lincoln.

TAMS, G. YOKE.

[Private and Confidential.]

Springfield, Illinois, September 22, 1860.

G. Yoke Tams, Esq.

My dear Sir: Your letter asking me "Are you in favor of a tariff and protection to American industry?" is received. The convention which nominated me, by the twelfth plank of their platform, selected their position on this question; and I have declared my approval of the platform, and accepted the nomination. Now, if I were to publicly shift the position by adding or subtracting anything, the convention would have the right, and probably would be inclined, to displace me as their candidate. And I feel confident that you, on reflection, would not wish me to give private assurances to be seen by some and kept secret from others. I enjoin that this shall by no means be made public.

Yours respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

TAYLOR, HAWKINS.

Springfield, Ill., Sept. 6, 1859.

Hawkins Taylor, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 3d is just received. There is some mistake about my expected attendance of the U. S. Court in your city on the 3d Tuesday of this month. I have had no thought of being there. It is bad to be poor, I shall go to the wall for bread and meat, if I neglect my business this year as well as last. It would please me much to see the city, and good people, of Keokuk, but for this year it is little less than an impossibility. I am constantly receiving invitations which I am compelled to decline. I was pressingly urged to go to Minnesota, and I now have two invitations to go to Ohio. These last are prompted by Douglas going there; and I am really tempted to make a flying trip to Columbus and Cincinnati.

I do hope you will have no serious trouble in Iowa. What thinks Grimes about it? I have not known him to be mistaken about an election in Iowa. Present my respects to Col. Carter, and any other friends; and believe me.

Yours truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Ill., April 21, 1860.

Hawkins Taylor, Esq.

My dear Sir: . . .

Opinions here, as to the prospect of Douglas being nominated, are quite conflicting—some very confident he *will*, and others that he *will* not be— I think his nomination possible; but that the chances are against him. . . .

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

TENNESSEE LOYALISTS.

[See CAMPBELL, WILLIAM B., AND OTHERS.]

THAYER, J. M.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, February 15, 1864.
General Thayer, Fort Smith, Arkansas:

Yours received. Whatever of conflict there is between the convention and me is accidental, not designed, I having acted in ignorance that the convention would act. I yield to the convention, and have so notified General Steele, who is master, and is to cut any knots which cannot be untied. Correspond with him. A. Lincoln.

THOMAS, GEORGE H.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

October 23, 1864. 5 p. m.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tennessee:

I have received information to-day, having great appearance of authenticity, that there is to be a rebel raid into Western Kentucky; that it is to consist of 4000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, and is to start from Corinth, Mississippi, on the fourth day of November.

A. Lincoln, President.

Send copy to General Washburn at Memphis.

A. L.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C.,

December 16, 1864. 11.30 a. m.

Major-General Thomas, Nashville, Tennessee:

Please accept for yourself, officers, and men,

the nation's thanks for your good work of yesterday. You made a magnificent beginning; a grand consummation is within your easy reach. Do not let it slip.

A. Lincoln.

THOMAS, LORENZO.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department,

Washington, July 8, 1863. 12.30 p. m.

General Lorenzo Thomas, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania :

Your despatch of this morning to the Secretary of War is before me. The forces you speak of will be of no imaginable service if they cannot go forward with a little more expedition. Lee is now passing the Potomac faster than the forces you mention are passing Carlisle. Forces now beyond Carlisle to be joined by regiments still at Harrisburg, and the united force again to join Pierce somewhere, and the whole to move down the Cumberland Valley, will, in my unprofessional opinion, be quite as likely to capture the "man in the moon" as any part of Lee's army.

A. Lincoln.

War Department,

Washington, February 28, 1864.

General L. Thomas, Louisville, Kentucky :

I see your despatch of yesterday to the Secretary of War.

I wish you would go to the Mississippi River at once, and take hold of and be master in the contraband and leasing business. You understand it better than any other man does. Mr. Miller's system doubtless is well intended, but

from what I hear I fear that, if persisted in, it would fall dead within its own entangling details. Go there and be the judge. A Mr. Lewis will probably follow you with something from me on this subject, but do not wait for him. Nor is this to induce you to violate or neglect any military order from the general-in-chief or Secretary of War.

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, March 1, 1864.

General L. Thomas:

This introduces Mr. Lewis, mentioned in my despatch sent you at Louisville some days ago. I have but little personal acquaintance with him; but he has the confidence of several members of Congress here who seem to know him well. He hopes to be useful, without charge to the government, in facilitating the introduction of the free-labor system on the Mississippi plantations. He is acquainted with, and has access to, many of the planters who wish to adopt the system. He will show you two letters of mine on this subject, one somewhat general, and the other relating to named persons. They are not different in principle. He will also show you some suggestions coming from some of the planters themselves. I desire that all I promise in these letters, so far as practicable, may be in good faith carried out, and that suggestions from the planters may be heard and adopted, so far as they may not contravene the principles stated, nor justice, nor fairness, to laborers. I do not herein intend to overrule your own mature judgment on any point. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 13, 1864.

Brigadier-General Thomas.

General: The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the thirtieth March, and to state in reply that Mr. Lewis has no authorization from him for any such purpose as you mention. He gave to Mr. Lewis a letter introducing him to you, at the request of some very respectable gentlemen from Kentucky, and here his responsibility for Mr. Lewis terminated.

The President does not wish you to be hampered in the execution of your duties by any consideration of the letter given by himself to Mr. Lewis.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant.

John Hay, Major and A. A. G.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 13, 1864.

Major-General Thomas, Louisville, Kentucky:

Complaint is made to me that in the vicinity of Henderson, our militia are seizing negroes and carrying them off without their own consent, and according to no rules whatever, except those of absolute violence. I wish you would look into this and inform me, and see that the making soldiers of negroes is done according to the rules you are acting upon, so that unnecessary provocation and irritation be avoided.

A. Lincoln.

THOMAS, WILLIAM B.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., October 17, 1863.

Hon. William B. Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.:

I am grateful for your offer of 100,000 men,

but as at present advised I do not consider that Washington is in danger, or that there is any emergency requiring 60 or 90 days men.

A. Lincoln.

THOMPSON, JACOB.

[See CLAY, CLEMENT C.]

THOMPSON, MRS. NANCY H.

[See DODGE, G. M., Dec. 13, 1864.]

THOMPSON, ———.

Springfield, April 25, 1849.

Dear Thompson: A tirade is still kept up against me here for recommending T. R. King. This morning it is openly avowed that my supposed influence at Washington shall be broken down generally, and King's prospects defeated in particular. Now, what I have done in this matter I have done at the request of you and some other friends in Tazewell; and I therefore ask you to either admit it is wrong, or come forward and sustain me. If the truth will permit, I propose that you sustain me in the following manner: copy the inclosed scrap in your own handwriting, and get everybody (not three or four, but three or four hundred) to sign it, and then send it to me. Also have six, eight, or ten of our best-known Whig friends there to write to me individual letters, stating the truth in this matter as they understand it. Don't neglect or delay in the matter. I understand information of an indictment having been found against him about three years ago, for gaming or keeping a gaming-house, has been sent to the Depart-

ment. I shall try to take care of it at the Department till your action can be had and forwarded on.

Yours, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

"TIMES," NEW YORK.

[See PAUL, E. A., AND RAYMOND, HENRY J.]

THORNTON, JAMES T.

Springfield, December 2, 1858.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 29th written in behalf of Mr. John H. Widner, is received. I am absent altogether too much to be a suitable instructor for a law student. When a man has reached the age that Mr. Widner has, and has already been doing for himself, my judgment is, that he reads the books for himself without an instructor. That is precisely the way I came to the law. Let Mr. Widner read Blackstone's Commentaries, Chitty's Pleadings, Greenleaf's Evidence, Story's Equity, and Story's Equity Pleadings, get a license, and go to the practice, and still keep reading. This is my judgment of the cheapest, quickest, and best way for Mr. Widner to make a lawyer of himself.

A. Lincoln.

TOBEY, S. B.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 19, 1862.

Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey.

My dear Sir: A domestic affliction, of which doubtless you are informed, has delayed me so

long in making acknowledgment of the very kind and appropriate letter signed on behalf and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the Society of Friends for New England, held at Providence, Rhode Island, the 8th of second month, 1862, by Samuel Boyce, clerk, and presented to me by yourself and associates.

Engaged as I am in a great war, I fear it will be difficult for the world to understand how fully I appreciate the principles of peace inculcated in this letter and everywhere by the Society of Friends.

Grateful to the good people you represent for the prayers in behalf of our common country, I look forward hopefully to an early end of war and return to peace.

Your obliged friend,

A. Lincoln.

TOD, DAVID.

[*Cipher Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, June 18, 1863.

Governor D. Tod, Columbus, Ohio:

Yours received. I deeply regret that you were not renominated, not that I have aught against Mr. Brough. On the contrary like yourself, I say hurrah for him.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., June 30, 1864.

Hon. David Tod, Youngstown, Ohio:

I have nominated you to be Secretary of the

Treasury, in place of Governor Chase, who has resigned. Please come without a moment's delay.

A. Lincoln.

TODD, CAPTAIN.

[See JOHNSON, ANDREW, Jan. 8 and 10, 1863.]

TREAT, S. H.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., July 2, 1864.

Hon. S. H. Treat, Springfield, Illinois :

Please give me a summary of the evidence with your impressions, on the Coles County riot cases. I send the same request to Judge Davis.

A. Lincoln.

TRUMBULL, LYMAN.

Springfield, Illinois, December 28, 1860.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.

My dear Sir: General Duff Green is out here endeavoring to draw a letter out of me. I have written one which herewith I inclose to you, and which I believe could not be used to our disadvantage. Still, if on consultation with our discreet friends you conclude that it may do us harm, do not deliver it. You need not mention that the second clause of the letter is copied from the Chicago platform. If, on consultation, our friends, including yourself, think it can do no harm, keep a copy and deliver the letter to General Green.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, June 17, 1864.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.

My dear Sir: Yours relative to reorganization of a State government for Arkansas, is received. I believe none of the department have had anything to do with it. All that has been done within the range you mention is embraced in an informal letter and telegraphic correspondence between parties there and myself, copies of which I have already furnished to Mr. Dawes of the House of Representatives for the object corresponding to yours.

It will save labor and oblige me if you will procure him to show you them. I believe you will find mentioned a proclamation of General Steele, no copy of which is with the correspondence. The reason is, I could not find it. If, after reading this, it still would be more satisfactory to you to have copies for yourself, let me know, and I will have them made out as soon as I reasonably can.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, January 9, 1865.

Hon. Lyman Trumbull.

My dear Sir: The paper relating to Louisiana, submitted to the judiciary committee of the Senate, by General Banks, is herewith returned. The whole of it is in accordance with my general impression, and I believe it is true; but much the larger part is beyond my absolute knowledge, as in its nature it must be. All the statements which lie within the range of my knowledge are strictly

true; and I think of nothing material which has been omitted.

Even before General Banks went to Louisiana I was anxious for the loyal people there to move for reorganization and restoration of proper practical relations with the Union; and when he at last expressed his decided conviction that the thing was practicable, I directed him to give his official coöperation to effect it. On the subject I have sent and received many letters to and from General Banks and many other persons. These letters, as you remember, were shown to you yesterday, as they will be again if you desire.

If I shall neither take sides nor argue, will it be out of place for me to make what I think is the true statement of your question as to the proposed Louisiana senators?

"Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relations with the Union sooner by admitting or by rejecting the proposed senators?"

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

ULLMAN, DANIEL.

[See BANKS, NATHANIEL P., Mar. 29, 1863.]

UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

[See BOKER, GEORGE H.]

USHER, JOHN P.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., August 24, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Interior.

Sir: By the within you see the claim of Illinois

for the two per cent. on sales of public lands is again presented.

My view of the case is not changed. I believe the law is with the State; and yet I think it is ungracious to be pressing the claim at this time of national trouble.

Nevertheless, I have to ask that you will determine what is your duty according to the law, and then do it. Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

VALLANDIGHAM, CLEMENT L.

[See BIRCHARD, M.; BURNSIDE, AMBROSE E., May 20 and 29, 1863; and CORNING, ERASTUS.]

VANDERBILT, CORNELIUS.

[*Message to Congress.*]

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives: I have inadvertently omitted so long to inform you that, in March last, Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, gratuitously presented to the United States the ocean-steamer *Vanderbilt*, by many considered the finest steamer in the world. She has ever since been, and still is, doing valuable service to the government. For the patriotic act in making this magnificent and valuable present to the country, I recommend that some suitable acknowledgment be made.

July 17, 1862.

Abraham Lincoln.

VAN DYKE, JOHN.

Springfield, Illinois, June 27, 1856.

Hon. John Van Dyke.

My dear Sir: Allow me to thank you for your

kind notice of me in the Philadelphia Convention.

When you meet Judge Dayton present my respects, and tell him I think him a far better man than I for the position he is in, and that I shall support both him and Colonel Frémont most cordially. Present my best respects to Mrs. Van Dyke, and believe me

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

WADSWORTH, JAMES.

[*Extract from Letter to General Wadsworth
Given by F. B. Carpenter.*]

(Late January or early February, 1864.)

You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission on the part of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied with universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I cannot see, if universal amnesty is granted, how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage or at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people

who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of the Republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended.

(In an article in *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1893, by the Marquis de Chambrun, the above letter contains this paragraph):

The restoration of the Rebel States to the Union must rest upon the principle of civil and political equality of both races; and it must be sealed by general amnesty.

WAKEMAN, ABRAM.

[*Private.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 25, 1864.

Abram Wakeman, Esq.

My dear Sir: I feel that the subject which you pressed upon my attention in our recent conversation is an important one. The men of the South recently (and perhaps still) at Niagara Falls tell us distinctly that they *are* in the confidential employment of the rebellion; and they tell us as distinctly that they are *not* empowered to offer terms of peace. Does any one doubt that what they *are* empowered to do is to assist in selecting and arranging a candidate and a platform for the Chicago convention? Who could have given them this confidential employment but he who, only a week since, declared to Jaquess and Gilmore, that he had no terms of peace but the independence of the South—the dissolution

of the Union? Thus, the present presidential contest will almost certainly be no other than a contest between a union and a disunion candidate, disunion certainly following the success of the latter.—The issue is a mighty one, for all people, and all times; and whoever aids the right will be appreciated and remembered.

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

WALKER, ROBERT J.

Washington, Nov. 21, 1861.

Dear Governor: I have thought over the interview which Mr. Gilmore has had with Mr. Greeley, and the proposal that Greeley has made to Gilmore, namely, that he (Gilmore) shall communicate to him (Greeley) all that he learns from you of the inner workings of the administration, in return for his (Greeley's) giving such aid as he can to the new magazine, and allowing you (Walker) from time to time the use of his (Greeley's) columns when it is desirable to feel of, or forestall, public opinion on important subjects. The arrangement meets my unqualified approval, and I shall further it to the extent of my ability, by opening to you—as I do now—fully the policy of the Government,—its present views and future intentions when formed,—giving you permission to communicate them to Gilmore for Greeley; and in case you go to Europe I will give these things direct to Gilmore. But all this must be on the express and explicit understanding that the fact of these communications coming from me shall be absolutely confidential,—not to be disclosed by Greeley to his nearest

friend, or any of his subordinates. He will be, in effect, my mouthpiece, but I shall not be known to be the speaker.

I need not tell you that I have the highest confidence in Mr. Greeley. He is a great power. Having him firmly behind me will be as helpful to me as an army of one hundred thousand men. That he has ever kicked the traces has been owing to his not being fully informed. Tell Gilmore to say to him that, if he ever objects to my policy, I shall be glad to have him state to me his views frankly and fully. I shall adopt his if I can. If I cannot, I will at least tell him why. He and I should stand together, and let no minor differences come between us; for we both seek one end, which is the saving of our country. Now, Governor, this is a longer letter than I have written in a month,—longer than I would have written for any other man than Horace Greeley.

Your friend, truly,

Abraham Lincoln.

P. S.—The sooner Gilmore sees Greeley the better, as you may before long think it wise to ventilate our policy on the *Trent* affair.

WALLACE, EDWARD.

Clinton, October 11, 1859.

Dr. Edward Wallace.

My dear Sir: I am here just now attending court. Yesterday, before I left Springfield, your brother, Dr. William S. Wallace, showed me a letter of yours, in which you kindly mention my name, inquire for my tariff views, and suggest the propriety of my writing a letter upon the

subject. I was an old Henry Clay-Tariff-Whig. In old times I made more speeches on that subject than any other.

I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully adjusted protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties, it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

I have not thought much on the subject recently, but my general impression is that the necessity for a protective tariff will ere long force its old opponents to take it up; and then its old friends can join in and establish it on a more firm and durable basis. We, the Old Whigs, have been entirely beaten out on the tariff question, and we shall not be able to reestablish the policy until the absence of it shall have demonstrated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it. With this view, I should prefer to not now write a public letter on the subject. I therefore wish this to be considered confidential. I shall be very glad to receive a letter from you.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 12, 1860.
Dr. Edward Wallace.

My dear Sir: Your brother, Dr. W. S. Wallace, shows me a letter of yours in which you request him to inquire if you may use a letter of mine to you in which something is said upon the

tariff question. I do not precisely remember what I did say in that letter, but I presume I said nothing substantially different from what I shall say now.

In the days of Henry Clay, I was a Henry Clay-tariff man, and my views have undergone no material change upon that subject. I now think the tariff question ought not to be agitated in the Chicago convention, but that all should be satisfied on that point with a presidential candidate whose antecedents give assurance that he would neither seek to force a tariff law by executive influence, nor yet to arrest a reasonable one by a veto or otherwise. Just such a candidate I desire shall be put in nomination. I really have no objection to these views being publicly known, but I do wish to thrust no letter before the public now upon any subject. Save me from the appearance of obtrusion, and I do not care who sees this or my former letter.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

WALLACE, LEW.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., May 13, 1864.

Major-General Wallace, Baltimore, Maryland:

I was very anxious to avoid new excitement at places where quiet seemed to be restored; but, after reading and considering your letter and inclosure, I have to say I leave you to act your careful discretion in the matter. The good news this morning, I hope, will have a good effect all round.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, July 9, 1864. 11.57 p. m.
Major-General L. Wallace, Commanding Middle
Department:

I am directed by the President to say that you will rally your forces and make every possible effort to retard the enemy's march on Baltimore.

H. W. Halleck,
Major-General and Chief of Staff.

WARREN, W. B., AND OTHERS.

Springfield, Illinois, April 7, 1849.

Gentlemen: In answer to your note concerning the General Land Office I have to say that, if the office could be secured to Illinois by my consent to accept it, and not otherwise, I give that consent. Some months since I gave my word to secure the appointment to that office of Mr. Cyrus Edwards, if in my power, in case of a vacancy; and more recently I stipulated with Colonel Baker that if Mr. Edwards and Colonel J. L. D. Morrison could arrange with each other for one of them to withdraw, we would jointly recommend the other. In relation to these pledges, I must not only be chaste, but above suspicion. If the office shall be tendered to me, I must be permitted to say: "Give it to Mr. Edwards or, if so agreed by them, to Colonel Morrison, and I decline it; if not, I accept." With this understanding you are at liberty to procure me the offer of the appointment if you can; and I shall feel complimented by your effort, and still more by its success. It should not be overlooked that Colonel Baker's position entitles him to a large

share of control in this matter ; however, one of your number, Colonel Warren, knows that Baker has at all times been ready to recommend me, if I would consent. It must also be understood that if at any time previous to an appointment being made I shall learn that Mr. Edwards and Colonel Morrison have agreed, I shall at once carry out my stipulation with Colonel Baker as above stated.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

WASHBURN, C. C.

[See THOMAS, GEORGE H., Oct. 23, 1864.]

WASHBURNE, E. B.

Washington, April 30, 1848.

Dear Washburne : I have this moment received your very short note asking me if old Taylor is to be used up, and who will be the nominee. My hope of Taylor's nomination is as high—a little higher than it was when you left. Still, the case is by no means out of doubt. Mr. Clay's letter has not advanced his interests any here. Several who were against Taylor, but not for anybody particularly, before, are since taking ground, some for Scott and some for McLean. Who will be nominated neither I nor any one else can tell. Now, let me pray to you in turn. My prayer is that you let nothing discourage or baffle you, but that, in spite of every difficulty, you send us a good Taylor delegate from your circuit. Make Baker, who is now with you, I suppose, help about it. He is a good hand to raise a breeze.

General Ashley, in the Senate from Arkansas, died yesterday. Nothing else new beyond what you see in the papers.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 11, 1854.
Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Your note of the 5th is just received. It is too true that by the official returns Allen beats Colonel Archer one vote. There is a report to-day that there is a mistake in the returns from Clay County, giving Allen sixty votes more than he really has; but this, I fear, is itself a mistake. I have just examined the returns from that county at the secretary's office, and find that the aggregate vote for sheriff only falls short by three votes of the aggregate, as reported, of Allen and Archer's vote. Our friends, however, are hot on the track, and will probe the matter to the bottom. As to my own matter, things continue to look reasonably well. I wrote your friend, George Gage; and three days ago had an answer from him, in which he talks out plainly, as your letter taught me to expect. To-day I had a letter from Turner. He says he is not committed, and will not be until he sees how most effectually to oppose slavery extension.

I have not ventured to write all the members in your district, lest some of them should be offended by the indelicacy of the thing—that is, coming from a total stranger. Could you not drop some of them a line?

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 14, 1854.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: So far as I am concerned, there must be something wrong about United States senator at Chicago. My most intimate friends there do not answer my letters, and I cannot get a word from them. Wentworth has a knack of knowing things better than most men. I wish you would pump him, and write me what you get from him. Please do this as soon as you can, as the time is growing short. Don't let any one know I have written you this; for there may be those opposed to me nearer about you than you think.

Very truly yours, etc.,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 19, 1854.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th just received. The objection of your friend at Winnebago rather astonishes me. For a senator to be the impartial representative of his whole State is so plain a duty that I pledge myself to the observance of it without hesitation, but not without some mortification that any one should suspect me of an inclination to the contrary. I was eight years a representative of Sangamon County in the legislature; and although in a conflict of interests between that and other counties it perhaps would have been my duty to stick to old Sangamon, yet it is not within my recollection that the northern members ever wanted my vote for any interest of theirs without getting it. My distinct recollection is that the northern members and Sangamon members were always on good

terms, and always coöperating on measures of policy. The canal was then the great northern measure, and it from first to last had our votes as readily as the votes of the north itself. Indeed, I shall be surprised if it can be pointed out that in any instance the north sought our aid and failed to get it.

Again, I was a member of Congress one term—the term when Mr. Turner was the legal member and you were a lobby member from your then district. Now I think I might appeal to Mr. Turner and yourself, whether you did not always have my feeble service for the asking. In the case of conflict, I might without blame have preferred my own district. As a senator I should claim no right, as I should feel no inclination, to give the central portion of the State any preference over the north, or any other portion of it.

Very truly your friend,

A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, January 6, 1855.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I telegraphed you as to the organization of the two houses. T. J. Turner elected Speaker, 40 to 24; House not full; Dr. Richmond of Schuyler was his opponent; Anti-Nebraska also elected all the other officers of the House of Representatives. In the Senate Anti-Nebraska elected George T. Brown, of the Alton "Courier," secretary; and Dr. Ray, of the Galena "Jeffersonian," one of the clerks. In fact they elected all the officers, but some of them were Nebraska men elected over the regular Ne-

braska nominees. It is said that by this they get one or two Nebraska senators to go for bringing on the senatorial election. I cannot vouch for this. As to the senatorial election, I think very little more is known than was before the meeting of the legislature. Besides the ten or a dozen on our side who are willing to be known as candidates, I think there are fifty secretly watching for a chance. I do not know that it is much advantage to have the largest number of votes at the start. If I did know this to be an advantage, I should feel better, for I cannot doubt but I have more committals than any other man. [*Here follow a detailed statement of those legislators who are likely to support him, and a tabulation of his estimate of the vote which shows a majority in his favor of 14.*]

Our special election here is plain enough when understood. Our adversaries pretended to be running no candidate, secretly notified all their men to be on hand, and, favored by a very rainy day, got a complete snap judgment on us. In November Sangamon gave Yates 2166 votes. On the rainy day she gave our man only 984, leaving him 82 votes behind. After all, the result is not of the least consequence. The Locos kept up a great chattering over it till the organization of the House of Representatives, since which they all seem to have forgotten it. G.'s letter to L., I think, has not been received. Ask him if he sent it. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, February 9, 1855.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: The agony is over at last, and

the result you doubtless know. I write this only to give you some particulars to explain what might appear difficult of understanding. I began with 44 votes, Shields 41, and Trumbull 5,—yet Trumbull was elected. In fact, 47 different members voted for me,—getting three new ones on the second ballot, and losing four old ones. How came my 47 to yield to Trumbull's 5? It was Governor Matteson's work. He has been secretly a candidate ever since (before, even) the fall election. All the members round about the canal were Anti-Nebraska, but were nevertheless nearly all Democrats and old personal friends of his. His plan was to privately impress them with the belief that he was as good Anti-Nebraska as any one else,—at least could be secured to be so by instructions, which could be easily passed. In this way he got from four to six of that sort of men to really prefer his election to that of any other man—all *sub rosa*, of course. One notable instance of this sort was with Mr. Strunk of Kankakee. At the beginning of the session he came a volunteer to tell me he was for me and would walk a hundred miles to elect me; but lo! it was not long before he leaked it out that he was going for me the first few ballots and then for Governor Matteson.

The Nebraska men, of course, were not for Matteson; but when they found they could elect no avowed Nebraska man, they tardily determined to let him get whomever of our men he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him no questions. In the meantime Osgood, Don Morrison, and Trapp of St. Clair had openly gone over from us. With the united Nebraska force and their recruits, open and covert, it gave

Matteson more than enough to elect him. We saw into it plainly ten days ago, but with every possible effort could not head it off. All that remained of the Anti-Nebraska force, excepting Judd, Cook, Palmer, Baker and Allen of Madison, and two or three of the secret Matteson men, would go into caucus, and I could get the nomination of that caucus. But the three senators and one of the two representatives above named "could never vote for a Whig," and this incensed some twenty Whigs to "think" they would never vote for the man of the five. So we stood, and so we went into the fight yesterday,—the Nebraska men very confident of the election of Matteson, though denying that he was a candidate, and we very much believing also that they would elect him. But they wanted first to make a show of good faith to Shields by voting for him a few times, and our secret Matteson men also wanted to make a show of good faith by voting with us a few times. So we led off. On the seventh ballot, I think, the signal was given to the Nebraska men to turn to Matteson, which they acted on to a man, with one exception, my old friend Strunk going with them, giving him 44 votes. Next ballot the remaining Nebraska man and one pretended Anti went over to him, giving him 46. The next still another, giving him 47, wanting only three of an election. In the meantime our friends, with a view of detaining our expected bolters, had been turning from me to Trumbull till he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These would never desert me except by my direction; but I became satisfied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or two ballots more, we

could not possibly do so a single ballot after my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. So I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advised my remaining friends to go for him, which they did and elected him on the tenth ballot.

Such is the way the thing was done. I think you would have done the same under the circumstances; though Judge Davis, who came down this morning, declares he never would have consented to the forty-seven men being controlled by the five. I regret my defeat moderately, but I am not nervous about it. I could have headed off every combination and been elected, had it not been for Matteson's double game—and his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives me pain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general cause that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess that they hate it worse than anything that could have happened. It is a great consolation to see them worse whipped than I am. I tell them it is their own fault—that they had abundant opportunity to choose between him and me, which they declined, and instead forced it on me to decide between him and Matteson.

With my grateful acknowledgments for the kind, active, and continued interest you have taken for me in this matter, allow me to subscribe myself

Yours forever,

A. Lincoln.

Urbana, Illinois, April 26, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I am rather a poor correspond-

ent, but I think perhaps I ought to write you a letter just now. I am here at this time, but I was at home during the sitting of the two Democratic conventions. The day before those conventions I received a letter from Chicago, having among other things on other subjects the following in it:

A reliable Republican, but an old-line Whig lawyer, in this city told me to-day that he himself had seen a letter from one of our Republican congressmen, advising us all to go for the reëlection of Judge Douglas. He said he was enjoined to keep the author a secret, and he was going to do so. From him I learned that he was not an old-line Democrat or Abolitionist. This narrows the contest down to the congressmen from the Galena and Fulton districts.

The above is a literal copy of all the letter contained on that subject. The morning of the conventions, Mr. Herndon showed me your letter of the 15th to him, which convinced me that the story in the letter from Chicago was based upon some mistake, misconstruction of language, or the like. Several of our friends were down from Chicago, and they had something of the same story amongst them, some half suspecting that you were inclined to favor Douglas, and others thinking there was an effort to wrong you.

I thought neither was exactly the case; that the whole had originated in some misconstruction coupled with a high degree of sensitiveness on the point, and that the whole matter was not worth another moment's consideration.

Such is my opinion now, and I hope you will have no concern about it. I have written this because Charley Wilson told me he was writing

you, and because I expect Dr. Ray (who was a little excited about the matter) has also written you; and because I think I, perhaps, have taken a calmer view of the thing than they may have done. I am satisfied you have done no wrong, and nobody has intended any wrong to you.

A word about the conventions. The Democracy parted in not a very encouraged state of mind. On the contrary, our friends, a good many of whom were present, parted in high spirits. They think if we do not triumph, the fault will be our own, and so I really think.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 10, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I have just reached home from the circuit, and found your letter of the 2d, for which I thank you. My other letter to you was meant for nothing but to hedge against bad feeling being gotten up between those who ought to be friends, out of the incident mentioned in that letter. I sent you an extract from the Chicago letter in order to let you see that the writer did not profess to know anything himself; and I now add that his informant told me that he did tell him exactly what he wrote me—at least I distinctly so understood him. The informant is an exceedingly clever fellow; and I think he, having had a hasty glance at your letter to Charley Wilson, misconstrued it, and consequently misreported it to the writer of the letter to me. I must repeat that I think the thing did not originate in malice to you, or to any one, and that the best way all round is to now forget it entirely.

Will you not adjourn in time to be here at our State convention in June?

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 15, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 6th, accompanied by yours of April 12th to C. L. Wilson, was received day before yesterday. There certainly is nothing in the letter to Wilson which I in particular, or Republicans in general, could complain of. Of that I was quite satisfied before I saw the letter. I believe there has been no malicious intent to misrepresent you; I hope there is no longer any misunderstanding, and that the matter may drop.

Eight or ten days ago I wrote Kellogg from Beardstown. Get him to show you the letter. It gave my view of the field as it appeared then. Nothing has occurred since except that it grows more and more quiet since the passage of the English contrivance.

The "State Register" here is evidently laboring to bring its old friends into what the doctors call the "comatose state,"—that is, a sort of drowsy, dreamy condition, in which they may not perceive or remember that there has ever been, or is, any difference between Douglas and the President. This could be done if the Buchanan men would allow it—which, however, the latter seem determined not to do.

I think our prospects gradually and steadily grow better, though we are not yet clear out of the woods by a great deal. There is still some effort to make trouble out of "Americanism."

If that were out of the way, for all the rest, I believe we should be "out of the woods."

Yours very truly, A. Lincoln.

Springfield, May 27, 1858.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours requesting me to return you the now somewhat noted "Charley Wilson letter," is received, and I herewith return that letter. Political matters just now bear a very mixed and incongruous aspect. For several days the signs have been that Douglas and the President have probably buried the hatchet,—Douglas's friends at Washington going over to the President's side, and his friends here and South of here talking as if there never had been any serious difficulty, while the President himself does nothing for his own peculiar friends here. But this morning my partner, Mr. Herndon, receives a letter from Mr. Medill of the "Chicago Tribune," showing the writer to be in a great alarm at the prospect North of Republicans going over to Douglas, on the idea that Douglas is going to assume steep Free-soil ground, and furiously assail the administration on the stump when he comes home. There certainly is a double game being played somehow. Possibly—even probably—Douglas is temporarily deceiving the President in order to crush out the 8th of June convention here. Unless he plays his double game more successfully than we have often seen done, he cannot carry many Republicans North, without at the same time losing a larger number of his old friends South. Let this be confidential.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, May 26, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: I have several letters from you written since the nomination, but till now have found no moment to say a word by way of answer. Of course I am glad that the nomination is well received by our friends, and I sincerely thank you for so informing me. So far as I can learn, the nominations start well everywhere; and, if they get no back-set, it would seem as if they are going through. I hope you will write often; and as you write more rapidly than I do, don't make your letters so short as mine.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, September 9, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 5th was received last evening. I was right glad to see it. It contains the freshest "posting" which I now have. It relieved me some from a little anxiety I had about Maine. Jo Medill, on August 30th, wrote me that Colfax had a letter from Mr. Hamlin saying we were in great danger of losing two members of Congress in Maine, and that your brother would not have exceeding six thousand majority for governor. I addressed you at once, at Galena, asking for your latest information. As you are at Washington, that letter you will receive some time after the Maine election.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 13, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Your long letter received. Prevent, as far as possible, any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on "slavery extension." There is no possible compromise upon it but which puts us under again, and leaves all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm, as with a chain of steel.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[*Confidential.*]

Springfield, Illinois, December 21, 1860.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Last night I received your letter giving an account of your interview with General Scott, and for which I thank you. Please present my respects to the general, and tell him, confidentially, I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either hold or retake the forts, as the case may require, at and after the inauguration. Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[*Private and Confidential.*]

Executive Mansion,

Washington, October 26, 1863.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 12th has been in

my hands several days. Inclosed I send the leave of absence for your brother, in as good form as I think I can safely put it. Without knowing whether he would accept it, I have tendered the collectorship at Portland, Maine, to your other brother, the governor.

Thanks to both you and our friend Campbell for your kind words and intentions. A second term would be a great honor and a great labor, which, together, perhaps I would not decline if tendered.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 18, 1863.

Hon. E. B. Washburne.

My dear Sir: The joint resolution of thanks to General Grant and those under his command has been before me, and is approved. If agreeable to you, I shall be glad for you to superintend the getting up of the medal, and the making of the copy to be engrossed on parchment, which I am to transmit to the general.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

WASHBURNE, ISRAEL, AND OTHER NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, September 11, 1861.

General Butler proposes raising in New England six regiments, to be recruited and commanded by himself, and to go on special service.

I shall be glad if you, as governor of —, will answer by telegraph if you consent.

A. Lincoln.

[*Circular Letter. Private and Confidential.*]

War Department,

July 3, 1862. 10.30 a. m.

Governor Washburne, Maine [and other governors].

I should not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now, I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks. But time is everything, and if I get 50,000 new men in a month, I shall have lost 20,000 old ones during the same month, having gained only 30,000, with the difference between old and new troops still against me. The quicker you send, the fewer you will have to send. Time is everything. Please act in view of this. The enemy having given up Corinth, it is not wonderful that he is thereby enabled to check us for a time at Richmond.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

WASHINGTON "CHRONICLE."

[*Anonymous Note.*]

June 6, 1863.

Editor of the "Chronicle":

In your issue of this morning you have an article on the Chicago "Times." Being an Illinoisian, I happen to know that much of the article is incorrect. As I remember, upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Democratic newspapers at Chicago went over to the opposition. Thereupon the "Times" was established by

the friends of the administration, Senator Douglas being the most prominent in establishing it. A man by the name of James Sheahan, from this city, was its first and only editor nearly if not quite all the remainder of the senator's life. On the political separation between Mr. Buchanan and Senator Douglas, the "Times" adhered to the senator, and was the ablest paper in his support through his senatorial contest with Mr. Lincoln. Since the last presidential election certainly, perhaps since Senator Douglas's death, Mr. Sheahan left the "Times"; the "Times" since then has been identical with the "Times" before then in little more than the name. The writer hereof is not well enough posted to say but that your article in other respects is correct.

WATKINS, N. W.

[See CURTIS, S. R., Dec. 16, 1862.]

WATSON, GILLET F.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., August 21, 1862.

Gillet F. Watson, Williamsburg, Va.:

Your telegram in regard to the lunatic asylum has been received. It is certainly a case of difficulty, but if you cannot remain, I cannot conceive who under my authority can. Remain as long as you safely can, and provide as well as you can for the poor inmates of the institution.

A. Lincoln.

WATSON, P. H.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 27, 1863.

Hon. P. H. Watson, Assistant Secretary of War.

My dear Sir: I have attentively considered the matter of the "Republican," in regard to which you called on me the other day; and the result

is that I prefer to make no change unless it shall again give just cause of offense, in which case I will at once withdraw the patronage it is enjoying at my hands. I believe it will not offend again; and if not, it is better to let the past go by quietly.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

WEBSTER, FLETCHER.

[See CAMERON, SIMON, June 17, 1861.]

WEBSTER, THOMAS.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, September 9, 1862.

Thomas Webster, Philadelphia:

Your despatch received, and referred to General Halleck, who must control the questions presented. While I am not surprised at your anxiety, I do not think you are in any danger. If half our troops were in Philadelphia, the enemy could take it, because he would not fear to leave the other half in his rear; but with the whole of them here, he dares not leave them in his rear.

A. Lincoln.

WEED, THURLOW.

Springfield, Illinois, August 17, 1860.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 13th was received this morning. Douglas is managing the Bell element with great adroitness. He has his men in Kentucky to vote for the Bell candidate, producing a result which has badly alarmed and damaged Breckinridge, and at the same time

has induced the Bell men to suppose that Bell will certainly be President if they can keep a few of the Northern States away from us by throwing them to Douglas. But you, better than I, understand all this.

I think there will be the most extraordinary effort ever made to carry New York for Douglas. You and all others who write me from your State think the effort cannot succeed, and I hope you are right. Still it will require close watching and great efforts on the other side.

Herewith I send you a copy of a letter written at New York, which sufficiently explains itself, and which may or may not give you a valuable hint. You have seen that Bell tickets have been put on the track both here and in Indiana. In both cases the object has been, I think, the same as the Hunt movement in New York—to throw States to Douglas. In our State we know the thing is engineered by Douglas men, and we do not believe they can make a great deal out of it.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, December 17, 1860.

Thurlow Weed, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 11th was received two days ago. Should the convocation of governors of which you speak seem desirous to know my views on the present aspect of things, tell them you judge from my speeches that I will be inflexible on the territorial question; that I probably think either the Missouri line extended, or Douglas's and Eli Thayer's popular sovereignty, would lose us everything we gain

by the election; that filibustering for all south of us and making slave States of it would follow, in spite of us, in either case; also that I probably think all opposition, real and apparent, to the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution ought to be withdrawn.

I believe you can pretend to find but little, if anything, in my speeches about secession. But my opinion is, that no State can in any way lawfully get out of the Union without the consent of the others; and that it is the duty of the President and other government functionaries to run the machine as it is.

Truly yours,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, February 4, 1861.

Dear Sir: I have both your letter to myself and that to Judge Davis, in relation to a certain gentleman in your State claiming to dispense patronage in my name, and also to be authorized to use my name to advance the chances of Mr. Greeley for an election to the United States Senate.

It is very strange that such things should be said by any one. The gentleman you mention did speak to me of Mr. Greeley in connection with the senatorial election, and I replied in terms of kindness toward Mr. Greeley, which I really feel, but always with an expressed protest that my name must not be used in the senatorial election in favor of, or against, any one. Any other representation of me is a misrepresentation.

As to the matter of dispensing patronage, it perhaps will surprise you to learn that I have information that you claim to have my authority

to arrange that matter in New York. I do not believe that you have so claimed; but still so some men say. On that subject you know all I have said to you is "justice to all," and I have said nothing more particular to any one. I say this to reassure you that I have not changed my position. In the hope, however, that you will not use my name in the matter, I am

Yours truly,
A. Lincoln.

Washington, January 29, 1863.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

Dear Sir: Your valedictory to the patrons of the Albany "Evening Journal" brings me a good deal of uneasiness. What does it mean?

Truly yours,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, October 14, 1863.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

My dear Sir: I have been brought to fear recently that somehow, by commission or omission, I have caused you some degree of pain. I have never entertained an unkind feeling or a disparaging thought toward you; and if I have said or done anything which has been construed into such unkindness or disparagement, it has been misconstrued. I am sure if we could meet we would not part with any unpleasant impression on either side.

Yours as ever,
A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 25, 1864.

Hon. Thurlow Weed.

My dear Sir: I have been both pained and surprised recently at learning that you are wounded because a suggestion of yours as to the mode of conducting our national difficulty has not been followed—pained because I very much wish you to have no unpleasant feeling proceeding from me, and surprised, because my impression is that I have seen you since the last message issued, apparently feeling very cheerful and happy. How is this?

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, D. C., March 15, 1865.

Dear Mr. Weed:

Every one likes a compliment. Thank you for yours on my little notification speech and on the recent inaugural address. I expect the latter to wear as well as—perhaps better than—anything I have produced; but I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world. It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it.

Truly yours,

A. Lincoln.

WEITZEL, GODFREY.

[Telegram.]

Headquarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, April 6, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia:

It has been intimated to me that the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion may now desire to assemble at Richmond and take measures to withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government. If they attempt it, give them permission and protection, until, if at all, they attempt some action hostile to the United States, in which case you will notify them, give them reasonable time to leave, and at the end of which time arrest any who remain. Allow Judge Campbell to see this, but do not make it public.

A. Lincoln.

[Telegram.]

Washington, D. C., April 12, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia:

I have just seen Judge Campbell's letter to you of the 7th. He assumes, as appears to me, that I have called the insurgent legislature of Virginia together, as the rightful legislature of the State, to settle all differences with the United States. I have done no such thing. I spoke of them, not as a legislature, but as "the gentlemen who have acted as the legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion." I did this on purpose to exclude the assumption that I was recognizing them as a rightful body. I dealt with them as

men having power *de facto* to do a specific thing, to wit: "To withdraw the Virginia troops and other support from resistance to the General Government," for which, in the paper handed Judge Campbell, I promised a specific equivalent, to wit: a remission to the people of the State, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property. I meant this, and no more. Inasmuch, however, as Judge Campbell misconstrues this, and is still pressing for an armistice, contrary to the explicit statement of the paper I gave him, and particularly as General Grant has since captured the Virginia troops, so that giving a consideration for their withdrawal is no longer applicable, let my letter to you and the paper to Judge Campbell both be withdrawn, or countermanded, and he be notified of it. Do not now allow them to assemble but if any have come, allow them safe return to their homes.

A. Lincoln.

[*Telegram.*]

Washington, D. C., April 12, 1865.

Major-General Weitzel, Richmond, Virginia:

I have seen your despatch to Colonel Hardie about the matter of prayers. I do not remember hearing prayers spoken of while I was in Richmond; but I have no doubt you have acted in what appeared to you to be the spirit and temper manifested by me while there. Is there any sign of the rebel legislature coming together on the understanding of my letter to you? If there is any such sign, inform me what it is; if there is no such sign, you may withdraw the offer.

A. Lincoln.

WELLES, GIDEON.

[Order.]

Executive Mansion, May 11, 1861.

To the Secretary of the Navy.

Sir: Lieut. D. D. Porter was placed in command of the steamer *Powhatan*, and Captain Samuel Mercer was detached therefrom, by my special order, and neither of them is responsible for any apparent or real irregularity on their part or in connection with that vessel.

Hereafter Captain Porter is relieved from that special service and placed under the direction of the Navy Department, from which he will receive instructions and to which he will report.

Very respectfully, Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 4, 1863.

Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy.

Dear Sir: As many persons who come well recommended for loyalty and service to the Union cause, and who are refugees from rebel oppression in the State of Virginia, make application to me for authority and permission to remove their families and property to protection within the Union lines, by means of our armed gunboats on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay, you are hereby requested to hear and consider all such applications, and to grant such assistance to this class of persons as in your judgment their merits may render proper, and as may in each case be consistent with the perfect and complete efficiency of the naval service and with military expediency. Abraham Lincoln.

[April 21, 1863. See SEWARD, WILLIAM H.]

[Order Regarding Contraband Trade.]

Executive Mansion, July 25, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Navy.

Sir: Certain matters have come to my notice, and considered by me, which induce me to believe that it will conduce to the public interest for you to add to the general instructions given our naval commanders in relation to contraband trade propositions substantially as follows, to wit:

First. You will avoid the reality, and as far as possible the appearance, of using any neutral port to watch neutral vessels and then to dart out and seize them on their departure.

Note. Complaint is made that this has been practiced at the port of St. Thomas, which practice, if it exists, is disapproved and must cease.

Second. You will not in any case detain the crew of a captured neutral vessel or any other subject of a neutral power, on board such vessel, as prisoners of war or otherwise, except the small number necessary as witnesses in the prize court.

Note. The practice here forbidden is also charged to exist, which, if true, is disapproved and must cease.

My dear sir, it is not intended to be insinuated that you have been remiss in the performance of the arduous and responsible duties of your department which, I take pleasure in affirming, has in your hands been conducted with admirable success. Yet, while your subordinates are almost of necessity brought into angry collision with the subjects of foreign states, the representatives of those states and yourself do not come into immediate contact for the purpose of keeping the peace, in spite of such collisions. At that point

there is an ultimate and heavy responsibility upon me.

What I propose is in strict accordance with international law, and is therefore unobjectionable; whilst, if it does no other good, it will contribute to sustain a considerable portion of the present British ministry in their places, who, if displaced, are sure to be replaced by others more unfavorable to us.

Your obedient servant,
Abraham Lincoln.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 20, 1863.

Hon. Secretary of the Navy.

My dear Sir: General Gillmore, believing that a joint movement of the army and navy is not likely to be made against Charleston very soon, has written asking leave to operate independently of the navy for a time. As this application comes to me, I will thank you to inform me how long, according to any plan or reasonable calculation of the navy, it will be before it will need the actual coöperation of the army before Charleston.

Yours very truly,
A. Lincoln.

WELLING, J. C.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, July 25, 1864.

J. C. Welling, Esq.

Sir: According to the request contained in your note, I have placed Mr. Gibson's letter of resignation in the hands of the President. He has read the letter, and says he accepts the resig-

nation, as he will be glad to do with any other; which may be tendered, as this is, for the purpose of taking an attitude of hostility against him.

He says he was not aware that he was so much indebted to Mr. Gibson for having accepted the office at first, not remembering that he ever pressed him to do so, or that he gave it otherwise than as was usual, upon request made on behalf of Mr. Gibson.

He thanks Mr. Gibson for his acknowledgment that he has been treated with personal kindness and consideration, and he says he knows of but two small drawbacks upon Mr. Gibson's right to still receive such treatment, one of which is that he never could learn of his giving much attention to the duties of his office, and the other is this studied attempt of Mr. Gibson's to stab him. I am, very truly,

Your obedient servant,

John Hay.

WESTCOTT, EDWARD J.

[See CHASE, SALMON P., March 27, 1863.]

WEST VIRGINIA.

[See CABINET, THE, Dec. 23, 1863.]

WETHERILL, DOCTOR.

[See AGRICULTURE, COMMISSIONER OF.]

WHITNEY, HENRY C.

Springfield, June 7, 1855.

My dear Sir: Your note containing election news is received; and for which I thank you.

It is all of no use, however. Logan is worse beaten than any other man ever was since elections were invented, beaten more than 1200 in this county.

It is conceded on all hands that the Prohibitory law is also beaten.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, July 9, 1856.

Dear Whitney: I now expect to go to Chicago on the 15th, and I probably shall remain there or thereabouts for about two weeks.

It turned me blind when I first heard Swett was beaten and Lovejoy nominated; but, after much reflection, I really believe it is best to let it stand. This, of course, I wish to be confidential.

Lamon did get your deeds. I went with him to the office, got them, and put them in his hands myself.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

In a letter, dated December 18, 1857, Mr. Lincoln answers Mr. Whitney's request for legal information by imparting it. He adds: "You must not think of offering me pay for this." He closes as follows:

Mr. John O. Johnson is my friend; I gave your name to him. He is doing the work of trying to get up a Republican organization. I do not suppose "Long John"* ever saw or heard of him. Let me say to you confidentially, that I do not

*John Wentworth, a Republican leader of Chicago.

entirely appreciate what the Republican papers of Chicago are so constantly saying against "Long John." I consider those papers truly devoted to the Republican cause, and not unfriendly to me; but I *do* think that more of what they say against "Long John" is dictated by personal malice than themselves are conscious of. We cannot afford to lose the services of "Long John" and I do believe the unrelenting warfare made upon him is injuring our cause. I mean this to be confidential.

If you quietly coöperate with Mr. J. O. Johnson in getting up an organization, I think it will be right.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, June 24, 1858.

My dear Sir: Your letter enclosing the attack of the "Times" upon me was received this morning. Give yourself no concern about my voting against the supplies,* unless you are without faith that a lie can be successfully contradicted. There is not a word of truth in the charge, and I am just considering a little as to the best shape to put a contradiction in. Show this to whomsoever you please, but do not publish it in the papers.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

WILLIAMS, ARCHIBALD.

Washington, April 30, 1848.

Dear Williams: I have not seen in the papers

* *I. e.*, to the American soldiers in the Mexican War, when Lincoln was in Congress.

any evidence of a movement to send a delegate from your circuit to the June convention. I wish to say that I think it all-important that a delegate should be sent. Mr. Clay's chance for an election is just no chance at all. He might get New York, and that would have elected in 1844, but it will not now, because he must now, at the least, lose Tennessee, which he had then, and in addition the fifteen new votes of Florida, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. I know our good friend Browning is a great admirer of Mr. Clay, and I therefore fear he is favoring his nomination. If he is, ask him to discard feeling, and try if he can possibly, as a matter of judgment, count the votes necessary to elect him.

In my judgment we can elect nobody but General Taylor; and we cannot elect him without a nomination. Therefore don't fail to send a delegate.

Your friend as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Washington, June 12, 1848.

Dear Williams: On my return from Philadelphia, where I had been attending the nomination of "Old Rough," I found your letter in a mass of others which had accumulated in my absence. By many, and often, it had been said they would not abide the nomination of Taylor; but since the deed has been done, they are fast falling in, and in my opinion we shall have a most overwhelming, glorious triumph. One unmistakable sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Barnburners, Native Americans, Tyler men, disappointed office-seeking Locofocos, and the Lord

knows what. This is important, if in nothing else, in showing which way the wind blows. Some of the sanguine men have set down all the States as certain for Taylor but Illinois, and it as doubtful. Cannot something be done even in Illinois? Taylor's nomination takes the Locos on the blind side. It turns the war thunder against them. The war is now to them the gallows of Haman, which they built for us, and on which they are doomed to be hanged themselves.

Excuse this short letter. I have so many to write that I cannot devote much time to any one.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

WILLIAMS, JOHN, AND TAYLOR, N. G.

[*Telegram.*]

War Department, October 17, 1863.
John Williams and N. G. Taylor, Knoxville,
Tennessee:

You do not estimate the holding of East Tennessee more highly than I do. There is no absolute purpose of withdrawing our forces from it, and only a contingent one to withdraw them temporarily for the purpose of not losing the position permanently. I am in great hope of not finding it necessary to withdraw them at all, particularly if you raise new troops rapidly for us there.

A. Lincoln.

WILSON, CHARLES L.

Springfield, June 1, 1858.

Charles L. Wilson, Esq.

My dear Sir: Yours of yesterday, with the inclosed newspaper slip, is received. I have never said or thought more, as to the inclination of some of our Eastern Republican friends to favor Douglas, than I expressed in your hearing on the evening of the 21st of April, at the State library in this place. I have believed—I do believe now—that Greeley, for instance, would be rather pleased to see Douglas reëlected over me or any other Republican; and yet I do not believe it is so because of any secret arrangement with Douglas. It is because he thinks Douglas's superior position, reputation, experience, ability, if you please, would more than compensate for his lack of a pure Republican position, and therefore his reëlection do the general cause of Republicanism more good than would the election of any one of our better undistinguished pure Republicans. I do not know how you estimate Greeley, but I consider him incapable of corruption or falsehood. He denies that he directly is taking part in favor of Douglas, and I believe him. Still his feeling constantly manifests itself in his paper, which, being so extensively read in Illinois, is, and will continue to be, a drag upon us. I have also thought that Governor Seward, too, feels about as Greeley does, but not being a newspaper editor, his feeling in this respect is not much manifested. I have no idea that he is, by conversation or by letter, urging Illinois Republicans to vote for Douglas.

As to myself, let me pledge you my word that neither I, nor any friend so far as I know, has been setting stake against Governor Seward. No combination has been made with me, or proposed to me, in relation to the next presidential candidate. The same thing is true in regard to the next governor of our State. I am not directly or indirectly committed to any one, nor has any one made any advance to me upon the subject. I have had many free conversations with John Wentworth; but he never dropped a remark that led me to suspect that he wishes to be governor. Indeed it is due to truth to say that while he has uniformly expressed himself for me, he has never hinted at any condition.

The signs are that we shall have a good convention on the 16th and I think our prospects generally are improving some every day. I believe we need nothing so much as to get rid of unjust suspicions of one another.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

WINSLOW, JOHN A.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives: In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Captain John A. Winslow, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks from Congress for the skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the brilliant action whilst in command of the United States steamer *Kearsarge*, which led to the total destruction of the piratical craft *Alabama*, on the 19th of June,

1864, a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in number of crew. . . .

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, December 5, 1864.

WOOD, FERNANDO.

Executive Mansion,
Washington, December 12, 1862.

Hon. Fernando Wood.

My dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday. The most important paragraph in the letter, as I consider, is in these words: "On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guaranties or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to."

I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—"the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress"—to be substantially the same as that "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States under the Constitution of the United States," I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of

the United States ; and that if within a reasonable time "a full and general amnesty" were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld.

I do not think it would be proper now for me to communicate this formally or informally to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it ; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me unequivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend military operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

I should nevertheless receive with great pleasure the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st of January than afterward.

While there is nothing in this letter which I shall dread to see in history, it is, perhaps, better for the present that its existence should not become public. I therefore have to request that you will regard it as confidential.

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

WOODRUFF, T.

[Indorsement on Letter.]

In answer to the within question, "Shall we be sustained by you?" I have to answer that at the beginning of the administration I appointed one whom I understood to be an editor of the "Democrat" to be postmaster at St. Louis—the best office in my gift within Missouri. Soon after this our friends at St. Louis must needs break into factions, the "Democrat" being in my

opinion justly chargeable with a full share of the blame for it. I have stoutly tried to keep out of the quarrel, and so mean to do.

As to contracts and jobs, I understand that by the law they are awarded to the best bidders; and if the government agents at St. Louis do differently, it would be good ground to prosecute them upon.

A. Lincoln.

April 16, 1863.

WOOL, JOHN E.

Springfield, Illinois, January 14, 1861.
General John E. Wool.

My dear Sir: Many thanks for your patriotic and generous letter of the 11th instant. As to how far the military force of the government may become necessary to the preservation of the Union, and more particularly how that force can best be directed to the object, I must chiefly rely upon General Scott and yourself. It affords me the profoundest satisfaction to know that with both of you judgment and feeling go heartily with your sense of professional and official duty to the work.

It is true that I have given but little attention to the military department of government; but, be assured, I cannot be ignorant as to who General Wool is, or what he has done. With my highest esteem and gratitude, I subscribe myself

Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln.

WORDEN, JOHN L.

[*Message to Congress.*]

To the Senate and House of Representatives :
In conformity to the law of July 16, 1862, I most cordially recommend that Commander John L. Worden, United States Navy, receive a vote of thanks of Congress for the eminent skill and gallantry exhibited by him in the late remarkable battle between the United States iron-clad steamer *Monitor*, under his command, and the rebel iron-clad steamer *Merrimac*, in March last. . . .

Abraham Lincoln.

Washington, D. C., December 8, 1862.

WORKING-MEN OF MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 19, 1863.

To the Working-men of Manchester: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election to preside in the Government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause, or whosoever the fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all the measures of administration which have been and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our frame of government and my official oath, I could not depart from

this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of governments to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt.

I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people; but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as having been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances—to some of which you kindly allude—induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic.

I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the working-men at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest

exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the working-men of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, humanity, and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem, and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exist between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

Abraham Lincoln.

WORKING-MEN OF LONDON, ENGLAND.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, February 2, 1863.

To the Working-men of London: I have received the New Year's address which you have sent me, with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

As these sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

The resources, advantages, and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage. They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people.

Abraham Lincoln.

"WORLD," NEW YORK.

[See DIX, JOHN A., May 18, 1864.]

WRIGHT, C. J., AND HAWKES, C. K.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, January 7, 1864.

Messrs. Craft J. Wright and C. K. Hawkes.

Gentlemen: You have presented me a plan for getting cotton and other products from within the rebel lines, from which you think the United States will derive some advantage.

Please, carefully and considerately, answer me the following questions:

First. If now, without any new order or rule, a rebel should come into our lines with cotton, and offer to take the oath of December 8, what do you understand would be done with him and his cotton?

Second. How will the physical difficulty and danger of getting cotton from within the rebel lines be lessened by your plan? Or how will the owner's motive to surmount that difficulty and danger be heightened by it?

Third. If your plan be adopted, where do you propose putting the cotton, etc., into market? how assure the government of your good faith in the business? and how be compensated for your services?

Very respectfully,

A. Lincoln.

WRIGHT, DOCTOR.

[See FOSTER, J. G., Oct. 15 and 17, 1865.]

WRIGHT, J. A.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, July 31, 1862.

Hon. Joseph A. Wright.

My dear Sir: Our mutual friends R. W. Thompson and John P. Usher assure me that they believe you, more certainly than any other man, can carry the Terre Haute district for the Union cause. Please try. The effort shall not go unappreciated so far as I am concerned.

Yours truly,

A. Lincoln.

[Message to Congress.]

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives: In accordance with a letter addressed by the Secretary of State, with my approval, to the Hon. Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, that patriotic and distinguished gentleman repaired to Europe and attended the international agricultural exhibition held at Hamburg last year, and has, since his return, made a report to me which, it is believed, cannot fail to be of general interest, and especially so to the agricultural community. I transmit for your consideration copies of the letter and report. While it appears by the letter that no reimbursement of expenses or compensation was promised him, I submit whether reasonable allowance should not be made him for them.

Abraham Lincoln.

January 20, 1864.

YATES, R., AND BUTLER, WM.

[Telegram.]

Washington, April 10, 1862.

Hon. R. Yates and William Butler, Springfield, Illinois:

I fully appreciate General Pope's splendid achievements, with their invaluable results; but you must know that major-generalships in the regular army are not as plenty as blackberries.

A. Lincoln.

YEATMAN, JAMES.

[See STANTON, EDWIN M., March 28, 1865.]

UNKNOWN ADDRESSEES.

[*General Letter Asking a Recommendation.*]

Springfield, Illinois, June 5, 1849.

Dear Sir: Would you as soon I should have the General Land Office as any other Illinoisan? If you would, write me to that effect at Washington, where I shall be soon. No time to lose.

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, December 15, 1849.

_____, Esq.

Dear Sir: On my return from Kentucky, I found your letter of the 7th of November, and have delayed answering it till now, for the reason I now briefly state. From the beginning of our acquaintance I have felt the greatest kindness for you, and had supposed it was reciprocated on your part. Last summer, under circumstances which I mentioned to you, I was painfully constrained to withhold a recommendation which you desired, and shortly afterward I learned, in such a way as to believe it, that you were indulging in open abuse of me. Of course my feelings were wounded. On receiving your last letter, the question occurred whether you were attempting to use me at the same time you would injure me, or whether you might not have been misrepresented to me. If the former, I ought not to answer you; if the latter, I ought; and so I have remained in suspense. I now inclose you the letter, which you may use if you see fit.

A. Lincoln.

[*Extract from Letter to Kansas Delegate.*]

March 10, 1860.

As to your kind wishes for myself, allow me to say I cannot enter the ring on the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong; and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I say in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain objects in a political contest, the use of some, is both right, and indispensable. With me, as with yourself, this long struggle has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly say this— If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago, I will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses of the trip.

Present my respects to Genl. Lane; and say to him, I shall be pleased to hear from him at any time.

Your friend, as ever,

A. Lincoln.

Springfield, Illinois, April 14, 1860.

My dear Sir: Reaching home last night, I found your letter of the 7th. You know I was in New England. Some of the acquaintances I made while there write to me since the election that the close vote in Connecticut and the *quasi* defeat in Rhode Island are a drawback upon the prospects of Governor Seward; and Trumbull writes Dubois to the same effect. Do not mention this as coming from me. Both those States are safe enough for us in the fall. I see by the despatches that since you wrote Kansas has appointed delegates and instructed them for Seward. Do not stir them up to anger, but come

along to the convention, and I will do as I said about expenses.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

[Form of Reply Prepared by Mr. Lincoln for Use in the Campaign of 1860.]

Springfield, Illinois, ———, 1860.

Dear Sir: Your letter to Mr. Lincoln of ———, and by which you seek to obtain his opinions on certain political points, has been received by him. He has received others of a similar character, but he also has a greater number of the exactly opposite character. The latter class beseech him to write nothing whatever upon any point of political doctrine. They say his positions were well known when he was nominated, and that he must not now embarrass the canvass by undertaking to shift or modify them. He regrets that he cannot oblige all, but you perceive it is impossible for him to do so.

Yours, etc.,

Jno. G. Nicolay.

HON. JOHN ———.

[Private.]

Springfield, Ill., Aug. 31, 1860.

Hon. John ———.

My dear Sir: Yours of the 27th is duly received— It consists almost exclusively of a historical detail of some local troubles, among some of our friends in Pennsylvania; and I suppose its object is to guard me against forming a prejudice against Mr. McC——. I have not heard

near so much upon that subject as you probably suppose; and I am slow to listen to criminations among friends, and never expose their quarrels on either side—My sincere wish is that both sides will allow by-gones to be by-gones, and look to the present and future only.

Yours very truly,

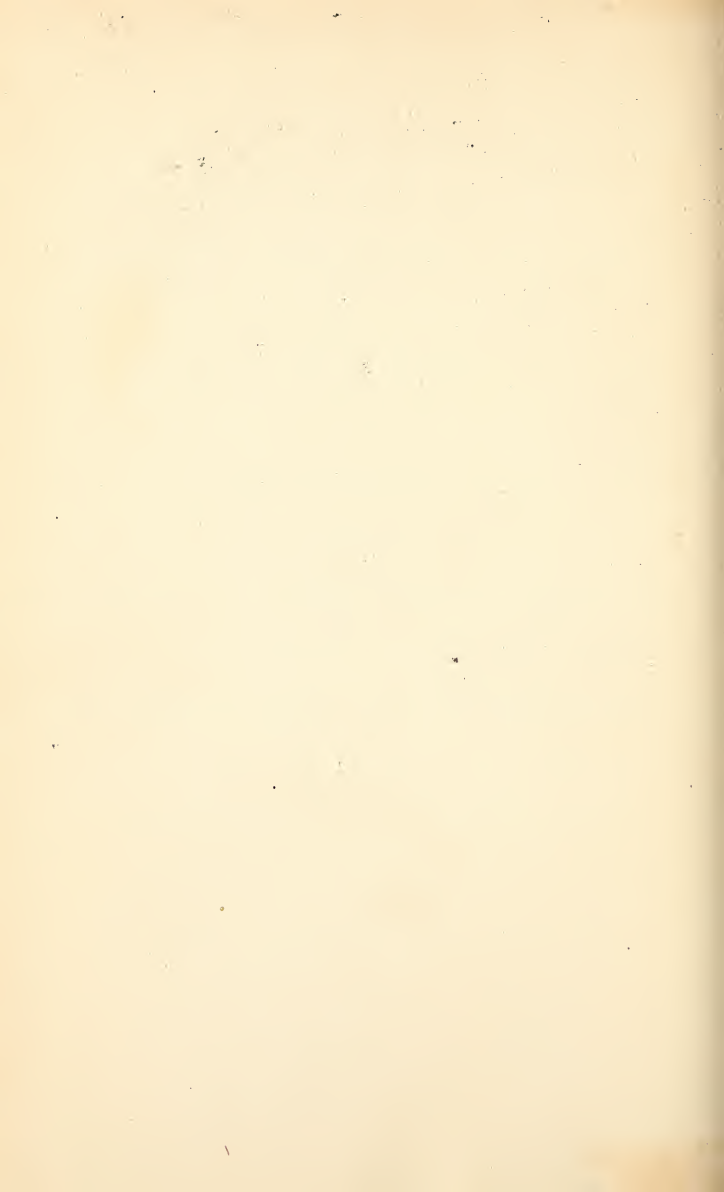
A. Lincoln.

[*Endorsement of Application for Employment.*]

August 15, 1864.

I am always for the man who wishes to work; and I shall be glad for this man to get suitable employment at Cavalry Depot, or elsewhere.

A. Lincoln.



71. 2009. 084. 10451

